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SKETCHES OF

RULERS OF INDIA

VOL I

THE MUTINY ERA AND AFTER

DALHOUSIE CANNING HENRY LAWRENCE CLYDE AND STRATHNAIRN LORD LAWRENCE MAYO NICHOLSON HAVELOCK

BY

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INTRODUCTION

'I SPEAK in the name of the whole Empire when I say that we deeply appreciate the conspicuous services rendered by the survivors of the memorable Indian Mutiny of 1857 and their comrades who have now passed away, under most trying circumstances and with a gallantry and an endurance which were the means, under Providence, of saving the Indian Empire from a great peril' Such was the gracious message of His Majesty, the King Emperor, read to the great assemblage that came together for the historic banquet held to commemorate the Jubilee Year of the Mutiny The Viceroy of India, Lord Minto, sent a message of 'hearty good wishes to the historic gathering of the Indian Mutiny veterans whose services in the hour of peril can never be forgotten' Similarly, the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in India, Lord Kitchener, cabled, 'Please convey the hearty greetings and good wishes of the Army in India to the Mutiny Veterans Their past gallant deeds are not forgotten in this Country'

An Indian critic has recently pronounced all such commemorations to be in bad taste Herein he has shown his ignorance of their real significance to the Englishman They by no means signify a vainglorious spirit on the part of those who organize or take part in them Earl Roberts has revealed their real significance what he has said with regard to the monuments and memorials of the illustrious dead is equally applicable to such commemorations as these 'It has been suggested that all outward signs of the Mutiny should be obliterated, that the monument on the Ridge should be levelled, and the picturesque Residency at Lucknow allowed to fall into decay This view does not commend itself to me These relics of that

tremendous struggle are memorials of heroic services performed by Her Majesty's soldiers, Indian as well as British, and by the civilians who shared the duties and dangers of the Army They are valuable as reminders that we must never again allow ourselves to be lulled into fancied security, and above all they stand as warnings that we should never do anything that can possibly be interpreted by the people of India into disregard for their various forms of religion' A consideration of the messages read, and of the composition of the great assemblage present on the special occasion of this historic commemoration, will reveal its significance It stands forth as a recognition of the work of the three great services of the Empire, the Civil Service, the Navy, and the Army

The Civil Service has been well represented in the persons of the illustrious rulers whose careers have been briefly sketched in the following pages Lord Dalhousie and Lord Mayo have each their proper place in any presentment of the era of the Indian Mutiny It has sometimes been charged against Lord Dalhousie that in his policy of conquest and annexation was to be found one of the moving causes of the crisis that his successor was called upon to meet It may well be considered what an opposite policy, one of *laisser-faire,* would have entailed in its consequences Most writers who have studied the History of India to any advantage, are agreed that such a mutiny was bound to come sooner or later As far back as 1843, at a time when some of the Bengal Sepoys were exhibiting signs of insubordination, approaching indeed actual mutiny, Sir Henry Lawrence, with that foresight which was one of his most marked characteristics, had written 'Let Delhi fall into the hands of a hostile force, and does any sane man doubt that twenty-four hours would swell the hundreds of rebels into thousands, and in a week every ploughshare in the Delhi States would be turned into a sword' And when a sufficient force had been mustered, which could

not have been effected within a month, should we not then have a more difficult game to play than Clive at Plassey, or Wellington at Assaye? Should we not have to strike anew for our Indian Empire?' Delhi, as history has related, did fall, but fortunately only to be recaptured within a fairly reasonable time But Lord Canning had found it necessary to write in almost similar terms of Lucknow and he urged upon his Commanders the pressing necessity of its recapture 'Every eye,' he wrote, 'is upon Oudh, as it was upon Delhi Oudh is not only the rallying-place of the Sepoys, the place to which they all look, and by the doings in which their own hopes and prospects rise or fall, but it represents a dynasty, there is a King of Oudh seeking his own' There had been a King in Delhi what if there had been a King, not merely seeking his own, but actually reigning in Lucknow? What if there had been, moreover, a Bhonsla still on the throne of Nagpur, a Queen ruling at Jhansi and a Sikh Maharaja at Lahore? And what if the Ruler of Afghanistan had not been made by the tactful treatment he received from Lord Dalhousie—that which his name in Persian signifies, a true friend? Can any one, knowing the feudal spirit that is still so strong in India, doubt that in such a case the prophecy of Henry Lawrence would have become literally true, and every ploughshare in the regions ruled by these Potentates would have been turned into a sword, and not one province alone, but the whole of India might have been 'engulphed in a welter of blood and confusion, and have reeled back into chaos'? Peace, doubtless, would in the end have arrived, but it would have been a peace that only solitude brings with it Lord Dalhousie's work of consolidation saved India from such a fate and so brought it about that, when the crisis that did occur was overpassed, a work of reconstruction only, and not one of laying anew the foundations of an Empire, lay before the Rulers of India And to Lord Mayo's great gifts of administration and

conciliation it was due that this work, commenced by his great predecessors, Canning and Lawrence, was so successfully accomplished, that 'India was once more started upon its wondrous career of advance and expansion' Fittingly therefore do these great Rulers, Dalhousie and Mayo, find a place in the gallery of portraits of the illustrious heroes of the Mutiny Era

The name that every Englishman at once thinks of when the services of the Navy come to be mentioned is that of Captain William Peel The third son of Sir Robert Peel, he had already won a distinguished name for himself before he placed his services at the disposal of the Military Authorities in India during the great crisis In the Crimea, whether he was helping to defend the colours of the Grenadier Guards at Inkermann, or carrying his ladder for the assault on the Redan, or calmly removing out of harm's way a live shell with fuse still burning that had fallen into the midst of the guns he was serving, he was always conspicuous for his courage and coolness and was one of the first recipients of the Victoria Cross At an earlier period of his career, like many other intrepid and adventurous members of the Services, Civil, Military and Naval, of the early Victorian Era, he had been smitten with the African Wanderlust, not for the mere sake of wandering, however, but from a philanthropic hope of being able to do something to ameliorate the condition of the negro, and he had crossed the Nubian desert He was on his way to China with Lord Elgin on board in command of H M S *Shannon*, when, at Singapore, he received the news of the outbreak in India It was not long before he was on his way to Calcutta He soon formed his Naval Brigade, which at no time exceeded five hundred men, and marched to the front with his battery of heavy guns and it has been recorded that he and his handy men manœuvred and handled these huge guns as if they were so many light field-pieces Wherever the fighting was most severe, there the thunder of Peel's

68-pounders was sure to be heard, and the same gallant qualities that had won him the Victoria Cross in the Crimea were ever displayed by him in India He was badly wounded in the final assault that preceded the capture of Lucknow He had returned to Cawnpur, and was gradually recovering from his wound, when he died of virulent smallpox, just as he had made all preparations to proceed to England Earl Roberts was his companion at the time, and he has recorded how nobly Peel was nursed by the wife of the Chaplain of Cawnpur Lord Canning spoke of the loss the country had sustained by the death of this gallant naval hero in these terms 'The loss of his daring but thoughtful courage is not more to be deplored than the loss of that influence which his earnest character, admirable temper, and gentle kindly bearing exercised on all within his reach' And the Historian of the Sepoy War has said 'The memory of his great name and great deeds still survives He was successful because he was really great, and dying early, he left a reputation without spot, the best inheritance he could bequeath to his countrymen'

Upon the Army fell the brunt of the work that had to be done It is fitting that the great Commanders, Lords Clyde and Strathnairn, should find a place in any presentment of the period Fitting is it too that Sir Henry Lawrence, the Strategist and the Statesman, should also be represented And what account of the period would be complete that did not take into consideration the work of such men as Sir Henry Havelock, the Saviour of Lucknow, and General John Nicholson, stern Warder of the Marches, without whose inspiring presence and leadership Delhi, in all human probability, would not have fallen when it did? And, though not all Rulers of India in the strictest acceptation of the term, they all proved themselves to be real Rulers of men and further, it was by their work alone that the peaceful administration of the country was again rendered possible Fittingly therefore may they all find

a place among the Rulers of India Other great Commanders there were whose names at once leap to the front, whenever the story of the Mutiny comes to be told, but space will not allow of more than a very brief mention of their heroic deeds the gallant Neill, Saviour of Benares and of Allahabad, the stern Avenger, who, when Havelock and his Ironsides passed on, remained behind in Cawnpur to exact retribution for the atrocious massacres with which the name of that city will for ever be associated in the minds of Englishmen , the chivalric Outram, rightly styled 'The Bayard of India', renowned in two worlds for his great act of self-renunciation , the Leader of Light Horse, Hodson, true type of the dashing and intrepid guerrilla Chieftain, who flashes across the pages of history like a brilliant and erratic meteor across the Firmament of Heaven

Lord Canning has said of Neill 'In the great struggle in which the best and bravest men of any age or country would have been proud to bear a part, there was no leader more reliable, no soldier more forward than Neill' The remark made by the sentries at the gate, as he entered the Fort at Allahabad, on his way to join Havelock at Cawnpur, was a sufficient testimony to his great reputation 'Thank God, Sir, you'll save us yet' Two dramatic scenes must suffice for an appreciation of the distinguishing characteristics of this gallant hero Their interest centres round the sacred Ghat at Cawnpur, and the narrow streets of Lucknow At Cawnpur he was temporarily left in command after Havelock had advanced on Lucknow and he exacted there a terrible retribution for the atrocities that had been committed by the orders, and in the name, of that demon in human form, the Nana Sahib Neill was not a man for indiscriminate vengeance, nor did he execute vengeance for vengeance sake all he did was in the name of retributive justice He said himself 'My object is to inflict a fearful punishment for a revolting, cowardly,

barbarous deed. no one who has witnessed the scenes of murder, mutilation, and massacre can ever listen to the word mercy as applied to these fiends.' It was against the demons that had so cruelly murdered innocent women and children that his righteous wrath was directed, not against rebels because they were rebels. Indeed it stands to the eternal credit of the Sepoys that they refused to obey the orders of their master to fire upon the defenceless women and children, and left the ghastly work to the butchers of the city. Even a Christian Missionary could view with equanimity and approval the retribution exacted by Neill. Dr Duff wrote :—'General Neill, though naturally a mild, gentle, quiet, inoffensive man, seems to have irresistibly felt that an exhibition of stern justice was imperatively demanded. His Scottish Bible-training had taught him that justice was as absolute an attribute of Deity as mercy, that magistracy was an ordinance of God, and expressly designed to be a terror to evil-doers.' Statesmen, too, such as Lord Palmerston and Lord Shaftesbury, saw in his action only a just retribution for 'atrocities such as were to be imagined and perpetrated only by demons sallying forth from the lowest depths of hell.'

And what Englishman in the India of to-day, or thoughtful Indian either for the matter of that, is there who, knowing the feelings that can be engendered, even in the minds of those who most wish India well, by the events that have occurred in recent years at Puna and Cawnpur, which are now a matter of history, or by those that have occurred still more recently in Eastern Bengal and Behar, will be prepared to deny that no punishment can be too severe, not only for the actual perpetrators, but for the still greater criminals, the instigators of such atrocious crimes. Well may those men, pictured to the distorted imagination of a recent writer on Indian affairs, as 'ardent patriots and high-minded constitutionalists', who so recently attempted to stir up strife in the Indian Empire,

congratulate themselves that they received the mild punishment they did, meted out to them by the three strong men at the head of affairs, Morley, Minto, and Ibbetson, calm and confident with the courage that a just and righteous cause ever brings with it, instead of the far sterner retribution that their offence deserved; for it is such men as these, who, though with their mouths they may disclaim it, show by their acts that they are prepared to stir up the most evil passions of men, and let loose the hounds of hell. A writer in a Canadian Magazine some little time back commented on what he has described as the most distinguishing characteristic of the British Nation in its management of its Colonies, and its government of its Dependencies, its sublime and magnificent patience. It was not without significance that Havelock gave out Patience as the watchword of the British Army on its final advance on Lucknow. It is this quality *par excellence* that has at all times distinguished the Rulers of India; never was it manifested more conspicuously than during that great crisis known to an earlier generation of Englishmen, as the Indian Mutiny. The recent crises, also known to a later generation, show that it is still as conspicuous a characteristic as ever.

The picture that has been depicted of the way Neill met his death in the narrow streets of Lucknow, when, with Havelock and Outram, he was hastening to the relief of his countrymen and countrywomen, though the historian of the Sepoy War will not vouch for its strict accuracy in all its details, has been described by those who knew him best, as 'so like Neill', that its record here needs no apology. 'He fell pressing through a gateway at Lucknow thronged with the dead, the dying, and the advancing hosts of the British avengers of blood, at the head of his own beloved regiment, with everything to urge the warrior onwards, and to make a moment's pause as repugnant to his nature as it was perilous. And yet the hero paused on

his onward course, and that pause exposing him to steady murderous aim from behind the treacherous loophole cost his precious life. But he paused for no work of slaughter, but for a work of mercy, not to strike down a foeman, but to moisten from his own flask the lips of a poor private who had fallen wounded or exhausted by his side.' We all remember that beautiful story, dear to us from our childhood, of Sir Philip Sidney, when dying on the field of Zutphen, waving from him the cup of cold water that was offered to him, with the words: 'Give it to that poor man: his necessity is greater than mine.' That deed of the Christian warrior, is, and ever will be, unsurpassed: but is it not now equalled? was not the charity as lovely, the self-denial as sublime, which could stay the advancing steps of the fiery Neill, eager to avenge his slaughtered countrymen and countrywomen, that he might succour his poor, faithful, simple-hearted follower, as those which animated the noble Sidney?'

Only a volume could do justice to the career of that Paladin of Chivalry, Sir James Outram. And the number of these that have appeared is a sufficient testimony to the esteem and admiration with which his name will ever be reverenced by Englishmen. What has most appealed to the imagination of men in Outram's career was that great act of renunciation by which he placed the crown on Havelock's achievements, by twice surrendering the supreme command into his hands at critical junctures in that hero's glorious career. All know how that act was regarded in the Old World. It will be sufficient to record here how it was appreciated in the New World. 'Never before,' wrote an American writer, 'was so remarkable an order issued to an Army by its Commander—the days of chivalry can furnish no parallel to it. There is a grandeur in the very simplicity and frankness with which this self-sacrifice is made, while the act itself reveals a nobleness of character, a true greatness of soul, that wins our unbounded admira-

tion To waive his rank and move on with the column as a spectator would have shown great self-denial, and elicited the applause of the world but not satisfied with this, he joined the Volunteer Cavalry, and, though covered with well-earned laurels, stood ready to win his epaulettes over again All his illustrious deeds in the field, which have rendered his name immortal, grow dim before the glory of this one act When they shall be forgotten, it shall remain the best eulogium that could be pronounced on his name Kings may confer patents of nobility, but the loftiest titles can add nothing to the grandeur of such a character Men, by their illustrious deeds, often excite the admiration of the world, but few ever win its affections Decorations and external honours may dazzle and attract the eye, but they do not gain the heart Outram has won the love of all true men in both hemispheres, and sits enthroned where outward signs of greatness pass but for little '

There were many dramatic episodes in the career of the man, whom one writer has described as ' the dashing, daring, reckless adventurer ', Hodson, who once had the distinction of commanding that gallant regiment of Guides, first raised and equipped on the initiative of Sir Henry Lawrence During the great crisis he commanded a body of Irregular Cavalry, named after himself, Hodson's Horse One of the most gallant feats of the whole Campaign was Hodson's great ride of 152 miles through a country teeming with mutineers, to carry dispatches from the Commander-in-Chief at Ambala to the Officer Commanding at Mirat Having delivered his message and obtained all the information his Chief required, he was back at Ambala again within seventy-six hours The most dramatic incidents connected with Hodson's name are perhaps his capture of the old King where he lay cowering amidst the tombs of his ancestors, and his execution, in full view of the city, of the princes of the blood royal Before Delhi fell, he

had said 'If I get into the Palace, the House of Timur will not be worth five minutes' purchase, I ween' And history has recorded how he kept his promise His capture of the King was only another instance out of many that the history of the British in India has afforded of the might of a dominating will The historian has well said of this incident 'A grander historical picture has been rarely seen than that of the single British subaltern receiving the sword of the last of the Mogul Emperors in the midst of a multitude of followers and retainers grieving for the downfall of the House of Tamerlane, and the ruin of their own fortunes Grand as was the central incident in itself, it was rendered still grander and more impressive by its gorgeous historical background—the magnificent gateway with the milk-white domes of the Tomb of Humayun towering up from within' It is recorded that when Hodson presented himself at the Head Quarters Camp, the General Commanding said to him 'Well, I am glad you have got him, but I never expected to see you or him again' Hodson selected as his share of the royal arms placed at his disposal by the General as memorials of his adventure, the swords once worn by Nadir Shah and the Emperor Jahangir

No act of Hodson's has been more criticized than his execution of the Delhi Princes His own comment upon it was 'I made up my mind at the time to be abused I was convinced I was right and when I prepared to run the great physical risk of the attempt I was equally game for the moral risk of praise or blame' And perhaps more blame has been attached to his act than praise But he cannot be judged from the ordinary standpoint Many of his acts can only be explained on the supposition that he had become more or less Orientalized in his outlook upon life And he is not the only Briton who has fallen under the spell of the East Hajji Browne of Egyptian fame, in a powerful passage in his writings on Egypt and

its affairs, has described the effect upon an Englishman who has voluntarily subjected himself to this spell, how that, however much he may wish it afterwards, he can no more get away from it than he can from his own shadow Scattered here and there along the wayside in India are the graves and memorials of Britons who have not only become thus Orientalized in reason and imagination, but who have even adopted the religion of the people with whom they have been willing to cast in their lot Such a one is to be found in that young Scotsman, Macgregor, who, under the designation of Bhikkuyu Ananda Metteya, has been for some years living among the Buddhist monks of the far East as one of themselves Assuming then that Hodson had become thus to a certain extent Orientalized, it would not be difficult for him to find a justification of his deed It was one more illustration of the Oriental rule that no rivals can be tolerated near a throne An old Persian saying has it 'Ten dervishes may lie on one rug, but no country is big enough for two Kings' Never again, if Hodson could help it, would one of the race of Timur arise to dispute the supremacy of Hindustan with the British

Hodson met with the death of a hero in the final assault that preceded the capture of Lucknow from the rebels It is recorded that the Commander-in-Chief attended the funeral, and that, while the body was being lowered into the grave, tears were flowing down his cheeks, and he exclaimed 'I have lost one of the finest officers in the Army' Earl Roberts has left on record his own opinion of Hodson 'I had a very great admiration for him, and in common with the whole Army, I mourned his early death' There must have been much good in a man who could win the tribute of tears from such a man as Sir Colin Campbell, and an encomium from that mirror of true chivalry, Field-Marshal Earl Roberts 'His military exploits, his brilliant services to his country, and the fact

that he died fighting gallantly to the last against the enemies of his country,' as the historian has recorded, will always entitle him to a place among the heroes in the Temple of Fame, but the defects inherent in his remarkable and picturesque personality will ever prevent his taking a place among them in the front rank

If the work of the more conspicuous and more distinguished of the heroes of the Indian Mutiny presents a glorious record, so does that of the rank and file, less conspicuous it may be, as human estimate judges, but none the less distinguished And one most noticeable feature was the humanity that characterized the British soldier whose temper, surely more tried than it had ever been, stood the test An incident that speaks with unpremeditated eloquence of this has been recorded by Earl Roberts 'In an unpublished diary of a British officer kept during the Siege of Delhi there occurs an entry written on the eve of the grand assault It is to this effect The orders for the assault were then read to the men Any officer or man who might be wounded was to be left where he fell no one was to step from the ranks to help him, as there were no men to spare There was to be no plundering No prisoners were to be taken, as there was no one to guard them and care was to be taken that no women or children were to be injured To this the men all answered at once by " No fear, Sir " ' Lord Strathnairn, during the Central India Campaign, also commented on this noble spirit of humanity, as shown by the soldiers under his command 'Methods of barbarism' have never characterized the British soldier in the field Such a phrase, it is true, has once been used by a statesman, but it was used in the heat of parliamentary partisanship, and was not intended, so says his apologist, to have the application that it has so often been credited with having It was one more of those terminological inexactitudes that have been struck in the mint of party politics

Nor, in their gallantry and devotion to duty, were the rank and file of the Indian branch of the Army one whit behind their British comrades Colonel Younghusband, in that narrative so full of adventure and stirring deeds as he well describes it, *The Story of the Guides*, has written of one of his heroes in these terms 'He was one of those Bayards of the East who know no fear, and as soldiers are without reproach' And truly that Punjabi Muhammadan of the 4th Punjab Infantry, Mukarrab Khan by name, whose gallant deed, which won him the Indian equivalent of the Victoria Cross, was a Bayard of the East, if ever there was one It was in the course of an attack on the Sikandarbagh, during the operations for the final relief of the Lucknow Residency Earl Roberts was himself an eye-witness of the deed, and has thus recorded it 'The enemy, having been driven out of the earthwork, made for the gateway, the heavy doors of which were in the act of being closed, when the Punjabi pushed his left arm, on which he carried a shield, between them, thus preventing their being shut On his hand being badly wounded by a sword cut, he drew it out and instantly thrust in the other arm, when the right hand was all but severed at the wrist But he gained his object the doors could not be closed, and were soon forced open altogether, and the troops swarmed in' Few finer examples of devotion, moreover, have been recorded in history than that of the faithful Sepoy of the 13th Bengal Native Infantry, who, after heroic service with his British comrades in the beleaguered Residency, having, on the approach of the relieving force, rushed out to welcome them, was mistaken by the Highlanders, as they charged in their mad rush, for a foeman, and bayoneted It is recorded that, as he lay dying, he said to his two companions, who had shared his fate, 'It does not matter we have died for the Government' And in the ranks of the rebel army the British soldier found many a foeman worthy of his steel In his inter-

esting *Reminiscences of the Revolt in Hindustan*, Sir Evelyn Wood has recorded how, 'a sentry over the King's palace at Delhi awaited death at his post' and how, 'in a long passage leading to the Palace which was crowded with wounded soldiers, a private of the 37th Native Infantry stood still at "The Ready" till the stormers were near, when, levelling his musket, he fired then charging, he met death on the bayonets of the King's Royal Rifles'

In any record of the achievements of the Army in India, the work done by Volunteers cannot be omitted It will be sufficient to quote the testimony of Havelock, who had so good an opportunity of judging of their quality what he says applies specially to the young officers who served as Volunteers with his force, but it is equally applicable to all the members of the Volunteer Corps 'New to the country, new to the service, unaccustomed to roughing it, brought up in every luxury, and led to believe that on their arrival in India, they would have the same, these young officers and gentlemen willingly threw themselves into the thick of the work, often without a tent or cover of any sort to shelter them from the rain or sun, with bad provisions and hard work Side by side with the privates they took their turn of duty, and side by side with them they fought, were wounded, and some of them died When we got into Lucknow and were useless as Cavalry, they cheerfully took the musket, and night and day, at one of the most important posts, did sentry duty with the men Well and nobly they did their duty and proud may those boys be when they point to the medal on their breast, and say "I won this while serving as a private in the field"' And who can doubt that, when time and opportunity present themselves, Haldane's Terriers will give as good an account of themselves, as Havelock's Gentlemen Volunteers did?

It is fitting that non-combatants also should find a place in this record of noble deeds and gallant conduct Many of those who in the piping times of peace would never

have thought of handling a musket, or wielding a sword, had occasionally to take their place among the ranks of combatants at this time of storm and stress, and many others were called on to dare and do deeds of daring that helped to save the Empire and such were to be found not only in the ranks of Britons, but in those of their Indian allies as well Earl Roberts has recorded one conspicuous instance of gallantry on the part of a member of the Medical Service 'Tyrrell Ross was well known as a skilful surgeon, and esteemed as a staunch friend He had just returned from England, and on the very morning of the engagement that cleared the enemy off the road to Fatehgarh, had been placed in medical charge of the Cavalry Brigade When the order to mount was given, Ross asked the General where he wished him to be, pointing out that he would not be of much use in the rear, if there was a pursuit across country The General replied "Quite so, I have heard you are a good rider and can use your sword Ride on my left, and help to look after my squadron" This Ross did as well as any Cavalry officer could have done' It is recorded, moreover, that when the 78th Highlanders were awarded two Victoria Crosses and were asked to elect the recipients of them, one, by the universal acclamation of the men, was bestowed upon Assistant-Surgeon Valentine McMaster, for the devoted gallantry with which he had risked his life in binding up the wounds, and securing the retreat of the men under his charge who had been disabled by the bullets of the enemy

The deed by which the civilian Kavanagh, who had been a clerk in an office in Lucknow, won his Victoria Cross, was one that demanded the very highest moral and physical courage He had to make his way through a city teeming with enemies, carrying important dispatches and a plan of Lucknow, to the General in Command of the relieving force His remarkable fairness of complexion,

and his blue eyes, rendered the difficulties of an efficient disguise all the greater and he himself has acknowledged that, when he plunged into the waters of the Gumti, to conceal himself in the suburbs, till nightfall would enable him again to cross the river and pass through the city without too great risk, he felt almost inclined to abandon the enterprise altogether More than once he was accosted as eventually he made his way through the streets of the city after dark, and was only saved from recognition by the adroitness and resource of the plucky man of Oudh who was accompanying him, who took upon himself to answer all questions Had Outram been compelled to employ a native spy at this juncture, he would have had to send his communication in the usual way such were conveyed during the Mutiny, written in French, signed in Greek, and rolled up in a quill But Outram was particularly anxious to communicate certain information at great length to Sir Colin Campbell, and to place in his hands a plan of the route he proposed that he should advance by, so as to save him and his men from the severe fighting that would be entailed if they followed the route that he and Havelock had followed on the first advance And this the offer of Kavanagh, which, as Earl Roberts has said, was such an offer as must have appealed to the heart of the Bayard of India, enabled him to accomplish There was another man in Lucknow also, who had covered himself with undying glory for the heroic manner in which, on three occasions at least, he had risked his life in carrying communications between the garrison and the relieving force under Havelock This was the Sepoy Pensioner, Angad, of whom an officer in the Residency wrote that he was the one man who had kept hope alive amongst them all that help would surely soon arrive, and had thus heartened them for their work It is recorded that when, towards the end of September, he brought the cheering news of the advance of Havelock and Outram, he was the hero of the

hour he is reported then to have said 'Now I have got back three times, I will go no more, but will live and die with you'

Something must be said of the work of the Indian followers and attendants, so many hundreds of whom shared the dangers and privations of their masters, aye, and mistresses too, and displayed throughout a devotion and a constancy that has been well described as unparalleled in the records of any nation The troopers of the 9th Lancers, as recorded by Earl Roberts, bore their testimony to the high qualities displayed by such when they were called upon to name the man they considered most worthy of the Victoria Cross, an honour which Sir Colin Campbell proposed to confer on the Regiment to mark his appreciation of the gallantry displayed by all ranks during the campaign, they unanimously chose the head Bhisti, Water-Carrier of the force The deeds of these men have in the main been left unrecorded, and their bodies rest in unnamed graves, but they were none the less heroes, and their deeds will ever be written in the hearts, not only of their own countrymen in India, but of Englishmen, who are always the first to recognize heroic deeds performed by whatever race, and in whatever clime

Deeds
Above heroic, though in secret done
And unrecorded, last through many an age

And what words will suffice to record the acts of heroic courage, or equally heroic constancy, displayed during this tremendous crisis, by the daughters of England, who were ever ready to share the perils and difficulties of the time with England's sons? They played indeed a noble part throughout the Empire And where their services were most needed, in the hospitals, by the side of the wounded and the dying, there they were ever to be found and besides visiting the sick, they did much good work in other directions, says the historian, 'giving confidence to the

desponding by cheerful looks and cheerful words, teaching the young and performing many other Christian offices' Few finer pictures have been presented of noble English womanhood than that which has been depicted of Lady Outram, who proved herself a fitting help-meet for the Bayard of India When escaping from Aligarh, she had to walk barefooted for many a mile before finding shelter behind the walls of the Fort at Agra and when the Fort was invested by the enemy, it is recorded that, 'it was a delight to the European soldiers to see her, with her serene face, always ready with a kind smile, and a kind word, as she moved about amongst them' Most heroic of all was the attitude of the Englishwomen at Cawnpur, 'the stories of whose womanly self-devotion, and patient endurance, and calm courage, as they waited for the inevitable end, are,' says the historian, 'too long to tell in detail' And, as the relieving forces got nearer and nearer to Lucknow, the one thought of all, officers and men, fresh from the scene of carnage and massacre, was how to avert a similar terrible fate befalling their country-women shut up within the walls of the Residency And they strained every nerve that such should not be Their thoughts indeed were continually with their countrywomen in their hour of peril and adversity As the gallant Neill was passing the battery commanded by Captain Olpherts, that young officer of Artillery, for whose bravery Outram was unable to find a term sufficiently expressive, he heard him call out to his men 'The sound of your guns, men, is music to the ladies' Neill himself was bringing with him a box of comforts and delicacies for their use, and, though he was not to have the happiness of personally distributing them, they were all duly given away for him by a brother officer And, as the force entered the Residency, it is recorded that, 'The Highlanders rushed forward, the rough-bearded warriors, and shook the ladies by the hand with loud and repeated congratulations They took

the children up in their arms, and fondly caressing them, passed them from one to another in turn'

The roll of the dead is a long and distinguished one, and so is that of the survivors Speaking at the Commemoration Banquet already referred to, the President said 'The lapse of fifty years had carried off all those to whom the country then looked to protect its interests, and to guard its honour They who were left were little more than boys at the time, and there was no one now alive who held any position of responsibility at that period' In these modest words, Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, for he it was who was presiding on the occasion referred to, spoke of the work done during the great crisis by such as himself If he and his heroic companions were only boys at the time the fact that among them are now to be found four Field-Marshals of the British Army, shows that they were boys of whom any nation might well be proud Earl Roberts's whole record shows that the stuff was there yet in the moulding it might be, but it was not to be long before the moulding took shape, and lo! a model of chivalry and renown By his own confession he moulded himself after the fashion of the great Nicholson and in Nicholson and Roberts all men will recognize true type and anti-type Space will only allow of one incident in the career of the gallant Field-Marshal Earl Roberts being taken, but it will serve as representative of the work done by the boys, who are now war-worn veterans That one will be the incident which holds, perhaps, the highest place in the estimation of the hero himself, the occasion when he won the Victoria Cross It must be given in his own modest language 'The troops had moved out from Cawnpur to open up communications between Bengal and the Punjab An engagement with the enemy was proceeding on the banks of the Kala Nadi, the Black Stream, at Khudaganj, on the high road to Fatehgarh Suddenly I saw Younghusband fall, but I could not go to his assistance, as at

that moment one of his Sowars was in dire peril from a Sepoy who was attacking him with his fixed bayonet, and had I not helped the man, and disposed of his opponent, he must have been killed The next moment I descried in the distance two Sepoys making off with a Standard, which I determined must be captured, so I rode after the rebels and overtook them, and while wrenching the staff out of the hands of one of them, whom I cut down, the other put his musket close to my body and fired fortunately for me it missed fire, and I carried off the Standard For these two acts I was awarded the Victoria Cross' And who will deny that it was a distinction most gallantly won?

The story of the Indian Mutiny will ever exercise a fascination over the minds and imagination of men It has, indeed, a world-wide interest Drama must always appeal to the human race And in this particular story the world has seen depicted not one only, but a whole series of immortal dramas What a theme for the great World-Dramatists and for the great World-Poets is here! Not one single element that goes to make up a World-Drama, or a great World-Epic is wanting Scene succeeds scene with dramatic swiftness figures heroic who would not have done despite to an Homeric stage figures tragic and pathetic such as only the genius of a Shakespeare could adequately present figures half-divine and wholly daemonic such as only a Milton could have called up from the vasty deep of his almost inspired imagination all these move across the stage It would be a theme, moreover, for a modern Indian Epic but who could be found capable of undertaking so tremendous a task? And yet the writer of these pages, in his wanderings amidst the Highlands of Kashmir, once came across a solitary Englishman who had conceived the idea He was travelling the length and breadth of India to report on the historic and prehistoric antiquities of that great Continent His

imagination had been so impressed with their surpassing interest that he had already commenced his stupendous task it was none other than to rival the authors of the great Epics of an India of an earlier day, by composing an Epic that should cover both the ancient and the modern history of India to be written in Cantos of Spenserian verse Part of his task had already been accomplished when the writer met with him, but long before its completion, 'the pestilence that walketh in darkness' had claimed him as its victim

Apart from the world interest of the story of the Indian Mutiny which it has on its dramatic side, it will always have a special interest for Englishmen, and that, not only on account of the halo that surrounds it of great and ennobling achievements, but from the lessons it teaches It is a call to the 'Sons of the Empire' not only to be ready whenever the summons comes, to emulate these achievements, but to take up 'the white man's burden' in whatever part of the world they may hear 'the call of the Empire' 'If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?' There is no uncertain sound in that clear clarion call with which that true Imperialist, Lord Curzon, has summoned all true sons of the Empire to rally to the call of the Empire In his great speech on 'The true Imperialism' which he delivered at Birmingham, in 1907, Lord Curzon said — 'As to the future, if he found any audience of his countrymen, who were plunged in doubt as to what it might bring forth, and who wondered whether the handwriting might not already be tracing its sentence on the wall of our Empire, as it had done upon those of Babylon, and Nineveh, and Rome, he would say to them, "Have no such craven fears From the sordid controversies and sometimes depressing gloom of our insular existence look forth, and if the summons comes to you, go forth, into the larger fields of Empire where duty still calls, and an illimitable

horizon opens Preserve with faithful attachment the acquisitions of our forefathers, not tabulating them with vulgar pride, but accepting the legacy with reverence, and holding no sacrifice too great to maintain it Be sure that in our national character, if we can keep it high and undefiled, still lies our national strength Count it no shame to acknowledge our Imperial Mission, but on the contrary the greatest disgrace to be untrue to it, and even if God no longer thunders from Sinai, and His oracles are sometimes reported dumb, cling humbly but fervently to the belief that so long as we are worthy we may still remain one of the instruments through whom He chooses to speak to mankind" '

England need never fear that the call of the Empire will ever be sounded in vain so long as her sons respond so nobly to it as did the late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, the noble and heroic Denzil Ibbetson, during that crisis which, early in 1907, stirred England and India to its depths, and which, had it been left to a weaker or less resolute man to encounter, might well have developed into a dangerous menace to the State The promptness and decision with which it was met alone saved the situation Sir Denzil Ibbetson showed that the teaching of History had not been forgotten by the modern race of Indian administrators, and that the qualities that distinguished those that laid the foundations of the great Indian Empire, are still to be found in those on whom the duty has devolved of maintaining it in all its integrity. But what will ever entitle him to a place among England's most noble and honoured sons is the fact that he did what he did knowing that he had the sentence of death upon him And he as truly sacrificed his life upon the altar of duty, as did any of the great heroes who died for their country during the great crisis of the Mutiny In an address presented to Outram after his return to England the *Times* has recorded that these words occurred ' By

men of your stamp was our Indian Empire won, by men of your stamp must it be preserved—by men as honest, as single-minded, as chivalrous, as humane, with as much love for the people of the country, as much pride in an Indian career, and as little thought of self as James Outram' Such a man was Denzil Ibbetson And equally applicable to him, as to those other heroes whom the soul of the historian of the Sepoy War delighted to honour, are the lines which he has quoted from Pindar —

> Whoe'er has reached the highest pinnacle
> Of fame by glorious toil, or daring skill,
> let him possess his soul in quietness
> And bear his honours meekly at the last
> E'en gloomy death will have for such an one
> Some gleams of brightness, for he will bequeath
> To the dear offspring of his heart and race
> Their best inheritance—an honoured name

This volume represents the first of a series of Character Sketches of the Rulers of India They do not profess to be original, but are largely abstracts of the series edited by the late Sir W W Hunter on behalf of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, who have courteously accorded me their permission to make use of the volumes of that series in this way The sketches have been specially adapted to serve either as lectures in schools and colleges, for which purpose they have been so written that their delivery need not exceed the limits of the average school-hour of fifty minutes, or for reading by the general public The adaptations have been drawn from an experience gained during a long career in India extending over thirty years, spent chiefly in educational work among the Princes and nobles of the country They should appeal to all who are interested in the development of our great Indian Empire, as they give a more or less complete picture of the principles on which that Empire has been administered, and by which it has been maintained—principles of

justice, truth, and righteousness—and of the character of the men who have been deputed by England to be its rulers

The present series covers the period immediately before, during, and after the Indian Mutiny They deal with the Civil Administration of the Marquess of Dalhousie, Earl Canning, Lord Lawrence, Sir Henry Lawrence, and the Earl of Mayo, and with the military operations of Lords Clyde and Strathnairn In order to make the picture of this important period more complete and interesting, the careers of Sir Henry Havelock and of Brigadier-General John Nicholson have been included in the series Thus all the leading features of the administration of the Indian Empire are pictured from the final development of the Company's rule under Lord Dalhousie, and the end of that rule that came about with the transfer of the Government of India from the Company to the Crown under Lord Canning, to the final consolidation of the Queen's rule under Lord Mayo

The authors of the original works from which I have drawn the materials for my sketches are —

Sir W W Hunter, Author of *The Marquess of Dalhousie* and *The Earl of Mayo*

Sir H S Cunningham, Author of *Earl Canning*

General McLeod Innes, Author of *Sir Henry Lawrence*

Major-General Sir O T Burne, Author of *Clyde and Strathnairn*

Sir C U Aitchison, Author of *Lord Lawrence*

Sir J W Kaye, Author of *Life of John Nicholson* Edition 1867

John Clark Marshman, Author of *Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock* Edition 1860

I have been also indebted for some of my materials to Field-Marshal Earl Roberts's *Forty-one Years in India* to Captain Trotter's *Life of John Nicholson* and to Kaye and Malleson's *History of the Sepoy War*

To Lord Curzon, late Viceroy of India, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford, whose sustained enthusiasm in all that concerned the welfare of India shone with undimmed lustre, a beacon to his generation, throughout the seven long years of his Viceroyalty, this series of Character-Sketches of the Rulers of India, by his gracious permission, is dedicated

G D OSWELL, M A.

January

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CHAPTER I

THE FINAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMPANY'S RULE

LORD DALHOUSIE, 1812–1860

THE most striking feature in Lord Dalhousie was his strong personality this trait he owed to his descent, strength of character had always been a characteristic of the family to which he belonged

Lord Dalhousie was born in Canada, where his father was at the time Governor-General He was sent to school at Harrow One incident of his schoolboy days made a marked impression upon him, as it was well calculated to do this was a visit paid to his old school by the Marquess of Hastings, on his return from ruling India for nine years, and his generosity in presenting each boy with a couple of sovereigns

From Harrow he proceeded to Oxford, where among his contemporaries were Gladstone, Canning, and Elgin, the two latter, like himself, destined to be Rulers of India He took an ordinary degree, but the examiners, recognizing his splendid abilities, and in consideration of certain special circumstances that had interfered with his reading for Honours, gave him an Honorary Fourth, which was then regarded as equivalent to a Second in Greats

In 1835, he made an attempt to enter Parliament, but was unsuccessful He married in the course of the following year His second attempt to enter Parliament, in 1837, was successful, but his Parliamentary career was destined to be a very short one, for in the following year he succeeded to the Earldom of Dalhousie He now proceeded to devote himself to whatever local work came to his hand In 1842 he had the honour of receiving a visit from the young Queen It is recorded of him, as characteristic of the haughty courtesy which in later years grew upon him, that he playfully reminded Her Majesty that the last

English Sovereign who had approached Dalhousie Castle was Henry IV, and he had remained outside for weeks, and never succeeded in gaining admission A few years after this he held office as President of the Board of Trade, and in that capacity laid before the Prime Minister a scheme of railway development he treated it entirely as a concern of the State, thus anticipating his later work in India His scheme provided that no new line of railway should be sanctioned, except on some clear ground of public advantage, commercial or strategic This system was not accepted in England, but it formed the basis on which the railway system of India has been elaborated He devoted much time and thought to the subject indeed his persistent overwork in connexion with it is thought to have laid the foundation of future disease English statesmen now began to recognize his eminent qualities, and in 1847, at the early age of thirty-five, he received the offer of the Governor-Generalship of India He accepted the offer with some hesitation, as a promising political career in England seemed to be opening out before him

He proceeded to India at the end of the same year At the very outset he was called on to experience that penalty of an Indian career that so many have to undergo, for, though his wife accompanied him, he had to leave his two little daughters behind in England

Before handing over charge of his office to Lord Dalhousie, his immediate predecessor Lord Hardinge, had remarked that, so far as human foresight could predict, it would not be necessary to fire a gun in India for seven years to come Similarly, the English Press had written, 'Everything seems to favour the new ruler, India is in the full enjoyment of a peace, which, humanly speaking, there seems nothing to disturb'

Events, however, were destined speedily to falsify these predictions the seven years of peace Lord Hardinge had predicted ultimately proved to be seven years of war Indeed, within a short three months after Lord Dalhousie's arrival in India, an event occurred which opened the eyes of the new ruler to the actual state of things Two British officers, Lieutenant Anderson and Mr Vans Agnew, were murdered at Multan by the treachery of Mulraj,

Governor of the town This man had been removed from office by the influence of the British Resident at Lahore, and the two officers had been sent to take over the government from him, and to install a Sikh Governor in his place

These young officers had had to take refuge in a Muhammadan mosque from a sudden attack made on them by a fanatical soldier, and Mulraj directed his guns upon this place It is to the credit of the Sikh soldiers in the pay of Mulraj, and of the better sort of the people of the town, that they refrained from taking any part in the murder of the defenceless men, it was left to the city rabble, who were not Sikhs at all Vans Agnew's last words were 'We are not the last of the English' A marble tablet to the memory of the young officers was afterwards erected in the Cathedral at Calcutta

Vans Agnew had sent off a pencilled note for aid to the British Resident at Lahore, and another to the Commissioner of Bannu, this latter reached the hands of Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes as he was sitting in his solitary tent on the banks of the Indus The letter was addressed in Persian 'To General Courtland in Bannu, or wherever he may be' Edwardes, thinking the letter might be urgent, opened it, and realizing the gravity of the situation from its contents, at once rushed to the rescue with his District escort, and a few local companies of Sikhs, in all some 400 men Mulraj met him with 4,000 men and eight guns Edwardes could do little without reinforcements, which unfortunately never came He remarked, 'I am like a terrier barking at a tiger' Nevertheless, the plucky little terrier kept barking at the tiger all through the hot weather of 1848, and actually, with the help of some native allies from the Muhammadan State of Bahawalpore, succeeded in driving Mulraj back into the fort with the loss of his eight guns The British commander, however, did not see the urgency of a hot-weather campaign, 'as if,' wrote an indignant officer from Multan, 'the rebellion could be put off, like a champagne tiffin, with a three-cornered note to Mulraj to name a date more agreeable' The local revolt soon extended into a general rising of the Sikhs, and the second Sikh war was thus precipitated

It ended in the annexation of the Punjab to the British Empire

Lord Dalhousie had expressed his determination to make the last battle of the war a final and decisive one He wrote to the commander 'The war must be prosecuted now to the entire defeat and dispersion of all who are in arms against us, whether Sikhs or Afghans and a final and decisive one it was accordingly made Of the Afghan horsemen who had been engaged, a native writer wrote in picturesque language 'They had ridden down through the hills like lions, and they ran back into them like dogs'

Before the second Sikh war, Lord Dalhousie had been averse from annexation, but after it he realized that this was the only feasible policy 'There never will be peace in the Punjab,' he wrote, 'as long as its people are allowed to retain the means and the opportunity of making war there never can be now any guarantee for the tranquillity of India until we shall have effected the entire subjection of the Sikh people and destroyed its power as an independent nation' It is interesting to note how the difference in the character of the two advisers whom Lord Dalhousie had consulted in the matter came out in their respective answers Henry Lawrence had said that annexation was just but not expedient, John Lawrence had said that it was just, and that its expediency was undeniable and pressing The country was therefore annexed the boy prince was deposed, and was granted a very handsome provision for life, with the titular dignity of Prince In making his final decision, Lord Dalhousie used these solemn words 'While deeply sensible of the responsibility I have assumed, I have an undoubting conviction of the expediency, the justice, and the necessity of my act What I have done, I have done with a clear conscience, and in the honest belief that it was imperatively demanded of me by my duty to the State'

The natural corollary to conquest was the settlement and consolidation of the country Lord Dalhousie personally dealt with each question as it came up, and personally inspected each part of the Province he also took up his residence for many months of the year at Simla, so as to be near With Lord Dalhousie as the controlling

power, and with such agents as the Lawrences, Herbert Edwardes, and John Nicholson, the success of the measures that were taken to settle the Province was assured

That even the chiefs were ultimately satisfied by the arrangements made may be illustrated by the remark of one of them 'We have got more than Ranjit Singh would ever have given us, and that free of all military service' Not the least important of the measures taken was the settlement of the Land Tax on a fairer basis than before, and the establishment of a record of rights The two instruments of the revenue system of the old Sikh Governments had been the soldier and the tax-gatherer the taxes were often collected, indeed, at the point of the bayonet just so in Oudh, its Kings were in the habit of collecting the taxes at the cannon's mouth A new moral life was stirred up in the country by the introduction of an educational system, that this was so, may be illustrated by the action which the Sikh Sardars took in resolving to reduce their heavy marriage expenses, the old financial difficulty of providing dowries for their daughters had been one of the principal causes that led to the crime of female infanticide formerly so rife in the Punjab It was this successful administration that made of the Punjab what it became in the troublesome days of the Mutiny 'The Saviour Province of India'

Lord Dalhousie was next involved in war with the Raja of Sikhim, who had treacherously seized the British political officer, and the great botanist, Sir Joseph Hooker This war resulted in the annexation of an outlying tract of the country it was only a fitting punishment for such an act of treachery

Ever since the Burmese War in Lord Amherst's time, Rangoon had remained an integral part of the Burmese Empire A British Resident had been originally stationed at Ava, and during the lifetime of the ruler, with whom the Treaty of Yandabu had been made, it had been faithfully observed On the succession of a new ruler, a change had taken place in the position of the British no representative had been allowed at the Burmese capital and all diplomatic relations had ceased The pretensions of the Emperor of Burmah of the time may be illustrated from

such high-sounding titles as 'The Elder Brother of China,' 'The Lord who is the greatest of Kings' The immediate cause of the action of Lord Dalhousie was a petition of British merchants at Rangoon, which stated that the Burmese Governor had granted his dependants permission to rob the inhabitants, as he had no money to pay them, they were to get money as best they could A British naval officer was sent to interview the Governor in order to obtain redress He could get no reply at all to his repeated requests for an interview, he was kept waiting in the sun, and then was informed that the Governor was asleep, and could not be disturbed It became evident that redress could not be obtained by peaceful means, and that there was no other alternative but war The result of the war that ensued was the conquest and annexation of Lower Burmah From the very commencement of the campaign, Lord Dalhousie had laid down the principle that, with a nation so ridiculously and mischievously self-conceited and arrogant, whatever was conquered must be annexed, any other course would be regarded as a sign of weakness

The chief incident in the campaign was the storming of the great temple-citadel of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda at Rangoon On the occasion of a visit which Lord Dalhousie paid at a later date to Rangoon, he remarked to the British General 'I cannot imagine, General, how your men ever got in at this place' The chief constituents of the garrison were the picked guards, known as 'The Immortals of the Golden Country', whose discipline compelled them to die at their posts on this occasion, however, they were the first to flee, and they were in such a hurry that they forgot to unloose some women and children who had been fastened up among the guns as pledges for the valour of the defenders The curious device by which the courage of the ordinary troops used to be ensured also proved of no avail on this occasion the king used to keep the wives and children of the married soldiers as hostages, while all bachelor soldiers were chained up to the guns and embrasures of the forts While he foresaw the necessity of an ultimate annexation of the whole Burmese Empire, Lord Dalhousie was content to stay his hand after the capture of the city

that commanded the approach to the capital by river. His reasons for thus acting were given in a private letter: 'To march to Ava will give no peace unless the army remains at Ava; in other words, unless we absorb the whole Burmese Empire. That necessity may come some day; I sincerely hope it will not come in my day.'

As had been the case with the Punjab, so now with Burmah, Lord Dalhousie devoted much time and thought to the question of the administration of the newly annexed territory, and he personally controlled the measures taken. He paid altogether four visits to see that his policy was properly carried out. The nature of the problems to be solved was distinct. For one thing, there was an entire absence of any ruling class in Burmah, below the King and the King's officials; these latter were only the instruments of the King's oppression—the attitude of the people towards them was naturally, therefore, one of distrust and dislike, and disorder was the natural atmosphere in which they moved. The change that took place under British administration was naturally slow, but the final results were good: a conviction was created among the people that under British rule peaceful industry yielded an easier livelihood than crime.

By the conquest and consequent annexation of the Punjab, Lower Burmah, and the outlying tracts of Sikhim, Lord Dalhousie had added to the British dominions in India territories equal to nearly twice the area of England and Wales.

The annexations which were made by Lord Dalhousie were forced on him by circumstances just as conquest had been. It was becoming increasingly evident that the old system of ruling, through the make-believe of sham royalties, could exist no longer side by side with the object-lesson which was being shown the people of India of the very different system under which the Government of India itself was administering its own territories. If the Government of India itself recognized, as it undoubtedly did, that it existed only for the benefit of the governed, and not for the profit of the rulers, it was only natural that it should insist on the same policy for the Dependent Native States. *The Times*, in an article written in the year 1853, on the

results of the old system, under which native rulers, no matter what the character of their rule, had been bolstered up by British support, had thus expressed itself 'We give many of these princes power without responsibility our hand of iron maintains them on the throne despite their imbecility, their vices, and their crimes' Even Sir Henry Lawrence had been obliged to acknowledge of many of the native Indian rulers of the time that, if they could not plunder strangers, they must harry their own people The time seemed ripe then for a change, and Lord Dalhousie determined to apply to the Dependent Native States of India the principle that already actuated the Supreme Government, namely, that government is not designed for the profit of princes but for the welfare of the people

The whole question practically centred round the privilege of adoption Under Hindu Law, every man has the right of adopting a son on failure of a male heir, to allow of the proper discharge of all due religious ceremonies, on which the welfare of the deceased parent depends in his future state in the other world, the adopted son thus became the spiritual *persona* of his adoptive father, and succeeded to his property This was recognized by the Government as a right to succession to property, but not to government As regards the right of succession to government, the principle had been laid down by law that, where the government of a State was in question, the consent of the paramount power was necessary to confirm such an adoption, it was further recognized that the paramount power had full legal right to withhold its assent if it thought fit, a recognition of adoption was to be regarded, moreover, as a special mark of favour

A poet has well expressed the principle on which the Sovereign Power is bound to act in such cases —

> Are crowns and empire,
> The government and safety of mankind,
> Trifles of such light moment to be left
> Like some rich toy, a ring, or fancied gem,
> Like pledge of parting friends ?
> Can kings do thus,
> And give away a people for a legacy ?

On this principle Lord Dalhousie proceeded to act Thus the doctrine of lapse became, by force of circumstances, the deliberately formulated policy of the Government of India at this time One of the earliest examples of the application of the new policy was the Principality of Satara This had been created by the British on the general break-up of the Mahratta power in the early part of the nineteenth century The ruler of the State had adopted a successor on his death-bed As far back, however, as 1841, the principle had been laid down that it was inexpedient to reconstitute a subordinate State by recognizing a death-bed adoption Lord Dalhousie and his responsible advisers decided that in this particular case the principle must be adhered to, Satara therefore lapsed to the British Government, and thus became an integral part of the British dominions. In the next case, that of Sambalpur, the chief had deliberately refused to adopt an heir, with the express view that his people, after his death, might enjoy the security of English administration here the question of adoption did not come up at all it was a case of a childless chief practically bequeathing his territory to the British Government Jhansi had been ceded by the Peshwa to the British so far back as 1817 in 1832, a Raja had been created out of the local Subahdar he had died childless a few years later, after a weak and oppressive administration The Government of the day selected a great-uncle to succeed him, he also died childless after a similar oppressive rule The Government again selected a successor, but, owing to the country having fallen into disorder, had for a time to assume the administration itself, the management being afterwards restored to the Raja He proved a fair ruler as judged by native standards, he died in 1853, leaving no natural heir, but only an adopted child The question then arose whether the child was to be allowed to succeed to the sovereignty of the State the Government, having in view the misrule of the previous thirty years, and the calamities that had befallen the people in consequence, decided in the negative Lord Dalhousie held that sound policy combined with duty in urging the British Government to refuse to recognize the adoption and to take possession of Jhansi as an escheat An ample

pension was given to the widow, and the territories were brought under the direct administration of the Government of India Some other smaller States lapsed in the same way In one case, that of a certain Amir of Scinde, it was discovered that he had obtained possession of certain British districts under a forged document, these, therefore, naturally reverted to their rightful owners In another case that occurred in Orissa, the persistent practice by the ruler of the rite of human sacrifice formed an all-sufficient ground for the forfeiture of his territories Even in these days evidence every now and again crops up to show that this practice has not entirely died out in some of the more remote hill tracts

Nagpur was perhaps the most important of the States, taking extent of territory into consideration, that were thus annexed This State comprised four-fifths of the existing Central Provinces, excluding Berar It had been originally Gond territory, and had been conquered by the Mahrattas in 1781 Years of terrible suffering had followed this conquest When Mahratta rule disappeared, as it did in 1818, a portion of the old State was reconstituted by the Marquess of Hastings as a subordinate Native State This was placed under the nominal rule of an infant descendant of the second Raja, an English Resident, Sir Richard Jenkins, was appointed to administer it The long minority of the young Raja under the able administration of Jenkins extended for some twelve years This period has been called 'the golden age of Nagpur' A change of scene occurred when the young Raja attained his majority, and was put in charge of the administration of his territory he at once proceeded to dissipate the treasure that had accumulated during his long minority, and recommenced the old Mahratta extortions upon his people In 1853 the Resident wrote of him 'One of his choicest amusements is an auction sale, when some unfortunate widow is ruled not to be entitled to her deceased husband's estates' His sole idea of the treaty that had secured him the chiefship was that it secured for him British protection against the vengeance of his subjects 'See,' he had remarked to a newly appointed minister, 'that the provisions of the Treaty are enforced to protect me in the enjoyment of those

pleasures of dancing and singing that I have loved from my boyhood' He died in 1853, leaving no male heirs and no legitimate daughters, he had persistently refrained, moreover, from adopting an heir The question then arose whether an adoption by one of his widows should be consented to Lord Dalhousie decided against the State being thus artificially re-created 'We set up a Raja at Nagpur,' he wrote, 'we afforded him every advantage a native prince could command his boyhood was trained under our own auspices an able and respected princess was his guardian and the regent of the State For over ten years, while he was yet a youth, we governed his country for him we handed it over to him with an excellent system of administration in full and practical operation, with a disciplined and well-paid army, with a full treasury, and a contented people Yet, after little more than twenty years, this prince, descending to the tomb, has left behind him a character whose record is disgraceful to him alike as a sovereign and as a man so favoured and so aided, he has, nevertheless, lived and died a seller of justice, a drunkard, and a debauchee What guarantee can the British Government now find for itself, or offer to the people of Nagpur, that another successor will not imitate and emulate this bad example? And if that should be the case, what justification could the Government of India hereafter plead for having to exercise the power which it possessed, to avert for ever from the people of Nagpur so probable and so grievous an evil?' The private rights of the family of the deceased Raja were scrupulously respected by Lord Dalhousie The Court of Directors had declared that the possessions of the Raja were fairly at the disposal of the Government, but, in his regard for all private rights, he himself took a different view he had the personal effects of the late Raja realized, and thus created a fund called 'The Bhonsla Fund', for the benefit of the family pensions to the various members of the family and their dependants were assigned out of the large revenues that thus accrued Lord Dalhousie further ordered that the widows should be treated with the greatest courtesy, in consideration of their rank, their sex, and their changed condition This treatment of the widows presented a marked contrast to

that which the late Raja himself had served out to the widows of his own subjects who happened to die possessed of wealth that he coveted

In Southern India, the last Nawab of the Karnatik had died, 'of dancing girls and of ennui,' wrote Sir Edwin Arnold, in 1855, after some thirty years of misrule he had left no natural heirs as far back as 1819, the definite conditions had been laid down that the title was not to be regarded as an hereditary one It was therefore now decided by the Court of Directors that the title of Nawab should be placed in abeyance liberal pensions were awarded to the members of the family, and the rank of premier nobleman in Madras was assigned to the leading representative of the family

Another case of lapse, but not of territory, was that of the pension that had been originally granted, as far back as 1818, by the Government of the Marquess of Hastings, to the deposed Mahratta Prince, Baji Rao It had been distinctly stated at the time, that it was to be a life pension only Baji Rao only died in 1851 The pension was not continued to his adopted son, the Nana Sahib, as he has been generally styled at the same time, the Government treated him very liberally by granting him the land, where his father had been residing, as a Jaghir for life The Secretary to the Government, in explaining the ample provision that had been made for him, thus wrote 'For twenty-three years the Peshwa received an annual clear stipend of eighty thousand pounds, besides the proceeds of the Jaghir in that time he received the enormous sum of more than two millions and a half sterling He had no charges to maintain, he has left no sons of his own, and he has bequeathed property to the amount of two hundred and eighty thousand pounds to his family Those who remain have no claim whatever on the consideration of the Government neither have they any claim on its charity, because the income left to them is amply sufficient ' History records how the Nana Sahib made it a grievance that the pension was not continued to him, and how he took the first opportunity that presented itself, in the troublous times of the Mutiny, to avenge himself, leaving a name behind him that no one can envy, 'the infamous Nana Sahib '

As regards the more important Sovereign States, the policy of the Government had been to maintain the succession as far as was practicable it was considered a matter of the highest political importance that an orderly devolution of the succession should take place on the demise of each prince the Government had accordingly directed its efforts to secure that an heir should be invariably forthcoming, whether by public declaration, or by testamentary provision, or by adoption Lord Dalhousie did not depart from the principle thus laid down In the case of the two principal States that circumstances compelled him to deal with, Hyderabad and Oudh, two different questions were involved As regards Hyderabad, the Nizam was bound by Treaty to pay for the contingent of troops maintained by the Government in his territories the payments had, however, fallen considerably into arrear, in order, therefore, to ensure more punctual payment in the future, a Treaty was made in 1853 between the Nizam and the Government of India whereby certain districts, comprising the territory known as The Berars, were ceded to the British This territory is now included in the administration of the Central Provinces, having been leased practically in perpetuity from the Nizam by a Treaty made with him by the Government of Lord Curzon For all practical purposes this cession of territory may therefore be styled an annexation

As regards the important State of Oudh, far more important questions were involved Repeated warnings against misrule and tyranny had been conveyed to the rulers of Oudh, both by dispatch and by personal advice tendered by successive Governor-Generals, on their visits to the State on various occasions The King had been given every chance of reforming his administration In 1847 Lord Hardinge had visited Lucknow, and had solemnly warned the King that, unless His Majesty reformed his administration within two years, the British Government would be forced to interfere by assuming the direct government of Oudh In 1851, Colonel Sleeman, who was at the time Resident at the Court of Lucknow, made such a report of the state of things as compelled the Governor-General to ask himself whether he could any longer be

responsible for such a spectacle of human misery and callous misrule In 1854 he asked Colonel Outram for a report this showed that matters, instead of improving, had been steadily growing from worse to worse The country, Outram reported, was completely delivered over to anarchy and the cruellest forms of oppression Lord Dalhousie realized that the time for action had now come, and in sending his report of the state of affairs to the Home Government he wrote 'I respectfully submit that the time has come when inaction on the part of the British Government in relation to the affairs of the Kingdom of Oudh can now be no longer justified, and is already converting our responsibility into guilt'

He suggested that, while the King should be permitted to retain his royal title and rank, he should be required to vest the whole civil and military administration of Oudh in the hands of the Company, and that its power should be perpetual in duration, as well as ample in extent The Home Government decreed the sterner policy of complete annexation, a policy which involved the deposition of the King Though Lord Dalhousie himself had not advocated this complete measure, he loyally carried out the orders This annexation of Oudh was the last and at the same time the greatest of the annexations of territory made by the Government, and the carrying it out was practically Lord Dalhousie's last public act The minute he wrote on the occasion contained these solemn words 'The British Government would be guilty in the sight of God and man, if it were any longer to aid in sustaining by its countenance an administration fraught with suffering to millions with this feeling on my mind, and in humble reliance on the blessing of the Almighty, for millions of His creatures will draw freedom and happiness from the change, I approach the execution of this duty gravely, and not without solicitude, but calmly and altogether without doubt'

Conquest and annexation only formed one part, and that perhaps not the most important part, of the rule of Lord Dalhousie Great works of internal organization also formed a very conspicuous feature of it Owing to the recent vast accession of territory, many changes in administration had become necessary The measure of the changes effected

by Lord Dalhousie in the map of India may be gauged by the fact that he left to his successors to administer a country whose area was a third and a half larger than the country he had himself received charge of from his predecessor The first change in administration made was to relieve the Governor-General of the charge of Bengal, for the administration of which he was still responsible, and the burden of which, with his other responsibilities, had become intolerable Bengal was for the future to be ruled by a Lieutenant-Governor In order that the Governor-General might be in a position to maintain watch and ward over provinces so far apart as the new Provinces were, and to exercise supervision generally over the whole Empire, the location of the Imperial Government for the greater part of the year at Simla was decided on Hitherto the command of India had been held by the British, as became a great ocean power, from the sea on the land side India had been isolated from all her powerful neighbours by intervening States under the new condition of things created by Lord Dalhousie, India had practically been converted into an inland Asiatic realm A redistribution of military power had thus become necessary, and the head quarters of the Army was removed from Calcutta to a station one thousand miles inland Calcutta thus ceased to be the political and military head quarters of the Government

Lord Dalhousie organized for his new Provinces a mixed system of government by which he endeavoured to unite military strength and promptitude with civilian exactitude of justice and vigilance in administrative details Local usages and customs were to form the groundwork of the whole system of judicial and revenue administration, and the simple class only of British Laws, Enactments, and Regulations, as culled from the systems at work in the older Provinces, was to be introduced Under such a system as this, the affairs of native life proceeded upon their previous footing with scarcely a perceptible change In matters of revenue or criminal law there was of course a change, thus, if a man committed a crime, he found himself dealt with by a stricter judicial procedure, and fined or sent to prison, instead of having his hand or foot chopped off

This system was known as 'The Non-Regulation System', and was itself a striking testimony to the genius of Lord Dalhousie. It proved to have within itself the capacity of adaptation to the new wants and requirements of the people, as they prospered and multiplied under British rule. With the further development and progress of the Provinces, other changes have become necessary, and these have been introduced from time to time, as circumstances have permitted.

All these administrative changes were but preliminary to the great work of consolidation and development which forms one of the distinguishing characteristics of Lord Dalhousie's rule in India. He has been styled the father of the railway and the telegraph systems, as the introduction of both was entirely his work. In his usual picturesque language, Sir Edwin Arnold has said of the railway system in India as devised by Lord Dalhousie: 'Railways may do for India what dynasties have never done: what the genius of Akbar the Magnificent could not effect by government, nor the cruelty of Tippu Sultan by violence: they may make India a nation.' It is interesting to note that, as a corollary to the development of railways, Lord Dalhousie took every precaution to encourage freedom of trade at the chief ports of India.

It is hard in these days to realize the immense difficulties that the pioneers of the telegraph system had to encounter in India, and for that matter throughout the East. Science and perseverance, however, triumphed in the end over all difficulties. The casual remark of a mutineer as he was being led out to execution, 'It is that accursed string that strangles us,' affords a remarkable illustration of the utility of the telegraph in India at the time of the Mutiny.

Another great factor in Lord Dalhousie's work of consolidation was his introduction of cheap postage. One writer goes so far as to say: 'It has done more than perhaps his telegraphs or his railways, in revolutionizing the old, stagnant, and self-isolated life in India.' In old days, the postmaster was often the station doctor, or some subaltern who had plenty of spare time on his hands; in the present day village schoolmasters are found in the remotest districts acting in the same capacity.

The Public Works Department was the creation of Lord Dalhousie, he specially encouraged the training of skilled engineers, and instituted Engineering Schools in the three leading Presidencies, while at the same time he urged on the Home Government the training of young men in England for an Indian career in the Department

Apart from the material benefits which Lord Dalhousie conferred on the people of India, he laid India under an eternal obligation by the inestimable moral benefits which followed in the train of his educational system, he laid the foundations of a national system of Education To him was due the development of that system of vernacular instruction which Mr Thomason had inaugurated among the masses of the population in the Upper Provinces The celebrated dispatch of Sir Charles Wood in 1854 laid down the lines which were to be followed 'Indian Education was to be founded neither on English nor on Sanscrit or Arabic, but on the modern vernacular languages of the Indian peoples' Under the system thus developed by Lord Dalhousie, a network of educational institutions was spread over India, this was his crowning act of consolidation New forces, both intellectual and political, have been set in motion by the liberal educational policy of the Government 'It is to the credit of Lord Dalhousie,' writes an authority, 'that he was the first to begin that process of binding together the Indian races, both by a common system of education, and by a community of interest, mercantile and political, which was altogether unknown in Ancient India, and which forms the most significant feature of the India of to-day' What the issue will be it is impossible to foresee Sir Edwin Arnold, in summing up the results of Lord Dalhousie's rule, has said 'We are making a people in India, where hitherto there have been a hundred tribes, but no people'

This sketch, so far as it has gone, has delineated the born ruler of commanding personality a portrait of the man, as he appeared to his contemporaries, may well be presented in conclusion Speaking of Lord Dalhousie's general characteristics, one authority has written 'Small of stature, but with a noble head, a most penetrating glance, and a noble demeanour, the little man of Government

House first inspired awe in those with whom he came in contact, then trust, and finally an ardent admiration, in which loyalty to the master mingled strangely with personal love During eight years of trials, and sorrows, and successes, he presented to our countrymen in India the loftiest type, I had almost said the apotheosis, of the great qualities with which we in distant lands love to associate the name of Englishman '

Lord Dalhousie's administrative qualities were of no mean order , he possessed an enormous capacity for work, and rarely allowed himself less than eight hours' continuous brain-work at his desk sitting down at half-past nine in the morning, he never quitted it, even while he ate his lunch, till half-past five in the afternoon Nothing was allowed to interfere with his daily tale of work, neither weariness, nor heat, nor the fatigue of an Indian march Sir Richard Temple, himself at one time a notable administrator, wrote thus of him 'Every man who had business with him felt that intercourse to be a pleasure the harder the affair the greater the satisfaction, so completely trained was his capacity for administration ' Of his ordinary routine work, the Chief Clerk of the Foreign Department once remarked that, if Lord Dalhousie had been a writer paid by the sheet, he would have earned a considerable income Towards his subordinates he was always scrupulously polite when it did become necessary to administer a rebuke, he always did so in writing, and toned its severity down in the act

He exacted from all under him that same austere conscientiousness in the performance of duty that characterized himself All who served him loyally, and there were few who did not do so, regarded him as a trustworthy friend, while at the same time looking up to him with a certain awe One of the principal factors that succeeded in winning the allegiance and loyalty of his lieutenants, was their recognition of the fact that he owned the truest right to command, the right of personal knowledge gained by personal work

Yet another factor was his great power of sympathy the knowledge that all those who worked immediately under him had, that he watched with interest every incident in their lives, naturally drew from them the best that they

had to give in return He possessed great strength of will, which was especially conspicuous in the resistance he offered to the inroads of disease and ill-health, the results of his devotion to duty , he never gave himself rest till he had completed the task he had set himself to do He suppressed as much as possible, we are told, any manifestation of his distress or suffering, and the public was scarcely aware that his strength and life were gradually, but surely, ebbing away The only occasion on which he is ever known to have broken down was on the receipt of the news of his wife's death at sea, on her homeward voyage, in 1853 It is recorded of him that he fell to the ground as if stricken dead, and for two days he shut himself up with his grief But his old fortitude returned, and he again had recourse to work as his sure and only consolation in his grief The contrast that was presented between the man when he first came to India, and the man who left India, must have struck everybody , he came to India more or less in the plenitude of youthful vigour and activity he has himself left on record what he felt like when he was leaving India The occasion was the installation of Lord Canning as his successor in office Sir John Lawrence had asked him a certain question to which he had replied 'I wish I were in Canning's place, and he in mine, and then wouldn't I govern India , but no, I could not wish my worst enemy to be the poor, miserable, broken-down, dying man I am now '

The crowds that assembled to witness the departure for his native land of 'the glorious little invalid', as a contemporary writer styled him, were swayed with but one feeling, a deep sense of regret, combined with admiration they realized that they were losing a man, the key-notes of whose career in India had been devotion to duty and self-sacrifice, and they now also realized that he had practically given his life for India So indeed it proved within a short five years, which were years of suffering borne with exemplary patience and fortitude, the first Marquess Dalhousie passed away in his own home, at the early age of forty-nine

CHAPTER II

THE TRANSFER OF INDIA FROM THE COMPANY TO THE CROWN

Lord Canning, 1812–1862

Lord Canning was the third son of William George Canning, who, at one period of his celebrated career, had been offered and had actually accepted the Governor-Generalship of India Circumstances, however, had prevented him from proceeding to India

He was educated at Eton, among his contemporaries there were boys bearing the distinguished names of Gladstone, Hallam, Elgin, Selwyn, and Granville, their influence was doubtless a potent one in helping to shape the boy's character

His old schoolfellows retained a very kindly recollection of Canning at Eton, he obtained a good reputation also for scholarship with the Head of the school, who at that time was the famous Dr Keate One feature of the Eton of Canning's day was the great amount of leisure time enjoyed by the boys, of which an old Eton boy has written 'The perfect intellectual freedom bestowed on us by the ease and leisure of our idle school had its good as well as its bad side' A debating club, of which Canning was one of the principal members, was the outcome of the freedom thus enjoyed

Passing from Eton to a private tutor, Canning then proceeded to Oxford Among his contemporaries at Christ Church was Dalhousie, destined like himself to be one of the Rulers of India While at the University he was an assiduous student, and won many distinctions On one occasion he was called upon to recite a Latin poem in the Great Hall of his College The scene has been thus described 'It was a remarkable scene in that magnificent banqueting-hall are hung portraits of students who have reflected honour upon the house that reared them by the distinctions which they have won in after life Underneath

the portrait of George Canning, the recollection of whose brilliant career and untimely end was still fresh in the memory of men, stood the son still in the prime of youth, recalling in his eminently handsome countenance the noble features of the portrait, while repeating the prize poem which would have gladdened his father's heart' After taking his degree, Canning married All who knew Lady Canning, whether in England or in India, where she eventually died, loved and honoured her for her charm and grace of character After having been for a short time a member of the House of Commons, Canning became entitled to a seat in the House of Lords, owing to the death of his mother in 1837, when he became a Peer of the Realm On Lord Ellenborough becoming Governor-General of India, he was offered the post of Private Secretary, but he declined the appointment, and instead became Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs He eventually obtained a seat in the Cabinet, as a member of Lord Palmerston's administration His parliamentary career, however, came suddenly to an end with the offer of the Governor-Generalship of India, in succession to Lord Dalhousie

He had won a great reputation already, and as a tribute to his good work Lord Palmerston gave his friend and old schoolfellow, Lord Granville, permission to write out to him while in India important Cabinet secrets On the eve of his departure to take up his new appointment in India he was entertained at a banquet given in his honour by the Court of Directors of the East India Company The speech he made on the occasion created a profound impression people who heard it felt that they were listening to no common man 'I know not,' he said 'what course events may take, I hope and pray we may not reach the extremity of war I wish for a peaceful term of office, but I cannot forget that in our Indian Empire that greatest of all blessings depends upon a greater variety of chances, and a more precarious tenure, than in any other quarter of the globe We must not forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, at first no bigger than a man's hand, but which, growing bigger and bigger, may at last threaten to overwhelm us with ruin What has happened once may happen again' In the light of

after events, the speech appears almost a prophetic utterance Canning set sail for India in the autumn of 1855, on the way out he stayed for a time in Egypt, and eventually reached India early in 1856 He touched first at Bombay, and at Madras, and was royally entertained at both places, he landed at Calcutta in the month of February He at once took over charge of his office, and plunged with characteristic energy into his new duties A casual remark he made to a friend, at the end of his first week of office, serves to illustrate the hard work that falls to the lot of a ruler of India 'So great has been the pressure of business, that I have only found time for one look out of doors since my arrival' Much of this preliminary hard work was due to his determination to get to the bottom of every question that came up for his consideration, and it took him several weeks of hard labour before he was able, as he expressed it, 'to get abreast of current events'

Weighty problems confronted him at the very outset of his career, as well as many minor problems, which caused him as much labour in their way as the greater ones, his peculiar temperament making him treat small things with the same conscientious care as large matters In matters of public business he was one of those men who are content with nothing short of perfection In order that the nature of these problems may be properly illustrated, it will be necessary to give a survey of the general situation in India as it presented itself to Canning very shortly after his arrival in India His great predecessor, Lord Dalhousie, had recently written a narrative of his rule in India, and he had prefaced it with this solemn warning 'No prudent man would ever venture to predict unbroken tranquillity within the Eastern Possessions of Great Britain' Outwardly, indeed, everything at the time seemed to promise peace, but the promise proved illusive, and already the first rumblings of the storm that was soon to burst had been heard Peace had soon to be broken beyond the frontiers of India the aggression of Persia in attacking Herat, which was regarded as the key to Afghanistan, had necessitated a declaration of war, and the dispatch of an Army from India In India itself there existed all the necessary elements of disturbance and disaffection

The Chief Commissioner of Oudh, Sir James Outram, had welcomed Lord Canning, on his first arrival in India, with the words 'All is well in Oudh' Yet Oudh proved to be full of explosive material great dissatisfaction existed among the landed classes in the Province, chiefly owing to an opinion amongst them that the early British Adminis-tration had attached more importance to the rights of the tenantry than to those of the landlords It was a fortunate thing for the British that, owing to the absence of the late King in exile in Calcutta, there was not in Oudh the same nucleus for disaffection that existed at Delhi

The old Mogul Emperor, Bahadar Shah, still lived at the old historic capital of the Mughals in semi-royal state Both Lord Dalhousie and Lord Canning had foreseen the danger of the position thus created, and arrangements were already in progress for changing the old King's place of residence, and for taking away from him the title of King Meanwhile the palace had become a centre of intrigue opportunity had been taken of the war with Persia, and a Proclamation had been posted on the walls of Delhi, announcing that the King of Persia was approaching to destroy the British Raj The city of Delhi had thus been prepared to welcome the rebels when they eventually came

Only seven years had elapsed since the Punjab had been annexed a natural anxiety, therefore, was felt as to what its attitude would be during the crisis One of the reasons given by Lord Dalhousie for its annexation had been its previous history of more or less incessant war, and the character of its people as a warlike nation, living only for war When the actual crisis occurred, however, these natural fears proved groundless, and it was found that the old feeling of animosity, which Lord Dalhousie had commented on at the close of the Second Sikh War, had given place to faithful loyalty That this was so, was undoubtedly due to the excellence of its administration under Sir John Lawrence and his able colleagues On the western frontiers of the Punjab there were the tribes of the mountain regions always spoiling for a fight Beyond them was the aged Amir of Afghanistan, Dost Mahomed, who had many reasons for not liking the English He seemed, however, to have at last made up his mind that the English were

better as friends than as enemies, and he had concluded a Treaty of friendship soon after Lord Canning's arrival in India He had come in person down to the Khaibar Pass to meet the British Envoys, when the Treaty was signed the Dost remarked 'Now I have made a Treaty with the British, and I will keep it till death' History has recorded how faithfully he kept his promise through the grave crisis of the Mutiny

On the northern frontier of the Punjab was the State of Kashmir, whose ruler had but recently signified his intention of adhering to his alliance with the British Government, in the words 'Now I grasp the skirts of the British Government, and I will never let go'

It was uncertain what the attitude of the warlike races of Rajputana would be, with their long previous history of chivalry

It was well known that the great Mahratta houses had no great reason to love the English Among the most bitter of the Mahrattas was the young Rani of Jhansi Lord Dalhousie had refused to allow her to adopt an heir and successor to the late Raja But perhaps the most bitter enemy the English had amongst the Mahrattas was the Nana Sahib He had already excited the suspicions of Sir Henry Lawrence when on a visit to Lucknow, but Lawrence's warning about him had been disregarded, his animosity had been aroused by the loss of the pension which his adoptive father, Baji Rao, had enjoyed for so many years

Yet another feature of the India of the time was the religious disquietude that prevailed more or less everywhere The system of popular education had, curiously enough, something to do with this religious unrest, other causes might perhaps also have been found in certain acts recently passed by the Government in the interest of widows, and in certain breaches of religious neutrality on the part of some British officers The Brahmans were beginning to be afraid of losing their religious ascendancy this fear had begun indeed to penetrate to the ranks of the Army of Bengal, the constituents of which were largely Brahmans or men under Brahman influence

The Muhammadans of India had a personal grievance

They were of the old ruling race they now found themselves in an inferior position, mere competitors for office with the Hindus A nucleus and a stimulus for disloyalty amongst them existed in an organization known as the Wahabi Organization, which had its head quarters among the tribes on the North-West Frontiers of India, and its agents amongst the Maulvis of the city of Patna

Again, there were certain factors making for discontent amongst the classes interested in landed property, and amongst the aristocracy many landholders had lost some portion of their old dignities, and in some cases even their estates, under legal decrees, some of the Princes felt the succession to the sovereignty of their States insecure, owing to the uncertainty as to adoption It might therefore reasonably be expected that these classes would not be averse from a revolution

The Native Indian Army had a long record behind it of good and loyal service British officers believed implicitly in the loyalty of their soldiers, and this belief could not be shaken even when clear signs manifested themselves that this loyalty was not so sincere as on the surface it appeared to be The history of the Indian Army had not been without warnings that the Indian Sepoy could be mutinous on occasion his loyalty, moreover, had recently been put to rather a severe test in a recent order of Government directing that, for the future, the Bengal Army must be prepared, by the terms of enlistment, to serve beyond the sea, as was already the case with the Bombay and Madras Armies Though there was no open expression of disapproval of this order, there is evidence to show that it was not received favourably by the Sepoys, it is supposed, moreover, to have been one of the arguments used by those who were busy at the time in encouraging sedition, to persuade the Sepoy that his privileges, his caste, and his religion were in danger The personnel of the Bengal Army of the time was itself a continual source of danger it contained a very large proportion of Brahmans and Rajputs, nearly all of whom were drawn from districts in Oudh, bound together by the same ties of religion, caste, and custom to many of them, moreover, the recent changes in the Government of Oudh must have been more or less unpopular Scat-

tered all over Oudh, moreover, were some fifty thousand recently disbanded soldiers, who had been serving under the old régime

Another cause of disquietude was the serious deficiency of British officers attached to the Native Army, recent orders, also, allowing the Sepoy to appeal to Army head quarters against the orders of his officers, must have tended to weaken the influence of the officers with their men very considerably The chief danger, perhaps, lay in the disproportion between the numbers of the Sepoys and the British soldiers the latter were outnumbered by five to one Sir Henry Lawrence had foreseen the danger that might arise from this state of things he had used the warning words 'We shall be unwise to wait for the occasion, come it will, unless anticipated'

The occasion had now arrived, and the Government found itself face to face with the gravest crisis that had ever threatened the existence of the English in India The term Mutiny has been applied to this crisis with intention, as being a more appropriate term than Rebellion in its immediate origin it was almost entirely of a military character, with a military grievance as its exciting cause, and in its course it was almost entirely confined to the Army

Premonitory signs of trouble had arisen in connexion with the Rifle Dépôts these had been established at different centres for teaching the men the use of the recently introduced rifle, which had taken the place of the old smooth-bore New cartridges had been issued as the result of an altercation between a Sepoy of high caste and a man of the low sweeper caste at one of the dépôts, the Sepoys suddenly discovered that the grease made to lubricate the cartridges was made of material that was abhorrent to the religious prejudices of Hindus and Muhammadans alike, a general feeling of alarm spread amongst the Sepoys in consequence, and they began to suspect that their rulers intended to make them out castes, in order that they might accept the religion of their rulers This feeling of alarm and suspicion began to be manifested in the way that discontent usually manifests itself in India, by acts of incendiarism, many cases of open insubordination also occurred Government made an attempt to allay the panic

by allowing the Sepoys the concession of preparing their own materials to grease their cartridges with the mischief, however, had been done they began to suspect the paper of which the cartridges were made, notwithstanding the assurance given them that it was perfectly innocent in its composition

Upon a British General suggesting to Lord Canning that the Rifle Dépôts should be broken up, his reply was 'If we give way upon this, I do not see where we can make our stand' An incident that occurred shortly afterwards seems to show that it might perhaps have been wiser to break them up, until the excitement had subsided Two Sepoys were returning to their regiments from a course at one of these dépôts to their horror they found that their old comrades in arms regarded them as out castes, and refused to eat with them The incendiary fires, moreover, that at once followed the orders to continue the rifle practice at the dépôts, conveyed another warning that might have been attended to At one or two centres, indeed, things appeared to be settling down more quietly, but there were not wanting abundant signs that suspicion and alarm still prevailed elsewhere At one place certain consignments of flour intended for the use of the troops were refused by them, many of the troops, too, openly refused to use the new cartridges

The first actual outbreak of mutiny occurred in May, 1857, at Mirat The most remarkable thing about this outbreak was the extraordinary dilatoriness of the responsible military authorities in dealing with it this want of prompt decision was in marked contrast to that shown on the occasion of the mutiny at Vellore many years before Many months of struggle, suffering, and sacrifice were the outcome of what has been truly called 'this ineffable shortcoming' After having worked their will at Mirat, the mutineers made for Delhi, which henceforth became the chief centre of disturbance and the immediate rallying-place of the disaffected

Its sudden seizure by the mutineers was the natural sequel of the unaccountable inaction of the military authorities at Mirat no attempt was made even to follow them up Recognizing the vast importance of severing all commu-

nication between Delhi and the rest of India, one body of the mutineers at once made for the Telegraph Office a brave telegraph clerk, who had remained in the office at the imminent risk of his life, had just succeeded in getting off a last message to Lahore, announcing the sudden appearance of the mutineers, when he was cut down, and his instruments wrecked The main objective of the mutineers was the arsenal, and especially the magazine, which they knew to contain invaluable supplies of ammunition their object was, however, frustrated by one of the bravest acts of the many brave acts that characterized the Mutiny the young British officer in charge, with his eight brave companions, hoping against hope that relief would come in time from Mirat, at last in despair decided to blow up the magazine rather than let it fall into the hands of the mutineers, knowing well that it would be at the risk of their own lives , more than 2,000 of the enemy were killed by the explosion that ensued as it was blown up

With Delhi now in the possession of the mutineers, Lord Canning foresaw that the disturbance would soon spread , and his anticipations were realized Within a few weeks of its fall, Oudh and the Upper Provinces were practically lost, and the position elsewhere became a most critical one

A British force was besieged at Lucknow by an overwhelming force of the enemy The garrison at Cawnpur lay practically at the mercy of the infamous Nana Sahib, and all Rohilcund was in a blaze At Jhansi the young Rani had raised the flag of rebellion, and had inaugurated the act by the massacre of the British who were stationed there The troops of the Maharaja Scindia, of Gwalior, had mutinied, though he himself had remained loyal The determined action of a British official at Nagpur had alone saved the Nagpur Territories Similarly, at the capital of the premier Muhammadan State of Hyderabad, the firmness of Sir Salar Jung had kept Muhammadan fanaticism in check At any moment it was felt Bengal might be in rebellion No one indeed could tell how far the disturbance might spread, or how severely it might develop

All eyes were directed towards Delhi as the key to the

situation so long as it remained in the possession of the mutineers, the position was unsafe All agreed that it must be recaptured at an early date at all hazards Troops were therefore hurried up, and reinforcement after reinforcement was dispatched by Sir John Lawrence from the Punjab Great was the relief when, after a siege that lasted more than three months, Delhi again fell into the hands of the British The leading figure in the assault by which it was finally recaptured was John Nicholson, whose death in the hour of victory was mourned by all

The first step in the re-establishment of British ascendancy had been taken, much, however, remained to be done Sir Henry Havelock had been entrusted with the task of relieving Lucknow Of Havelock, a former Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, had said 'If ever India should be in danger, the Government have only to place Havelock at the head of an army and it will be saved' The almost superhuman exertions made by Havelock and his small force to reach Lucknow are a matter of history, the task, however, was too great, and it was not until he had been joined by Outram with reinforcements that he was able to effect the first relief of the Residency Outram, with that generosity that distinguished him, though his senior in command, had allowed him to remain in command till the relief was effected On his way to Lucknow he had retaken Cawnpur, but only to find that not a European remained alive those whom the Nana Sahib had not been able to kill by treachery he had cruelly murdered Even the women and children had not escaped his vengeance It was left to Sir Colin Campbell to effect the final relief of Lucknow, and to remove to a place of safety the garrison and the defenceless women and children whom he found in the Residency In doing this he had to encounter the redoubtable Mahratta commander, Tantia Topi, whom he defeated decisively

Though Delhi had fallen, and Lucknow been relieved, there was still a severe task before the British troops the work that still remained for them to do was practically a work of conquest Most of the mutineers were still in the field, and the city of Lucknow itself still remained in their hands, not only Oudh, therefore, and Rohilcund

remained to be reconquered, but Central India also This is sufficient to show how great was the problem that still confronted the man responsible for the Government of India Not the least of his anxieties was the necessity he was under of preserving a bold front and calmness of mind in the face of the great crisis, to prevent the population of Bengal, and other parts of India which were yet quiet, from imagining that the Government was in a difficulty, and was obliged to adopt extraordinary expedients to meet the difficulty His own words at the time, written to the Bishop of Calcutta, Bishop Wilson, show the real nobility of a man who could remain so outwardly calm, when there was everything around him calculated to agitate, unnerve, and provoke a weaker man 'The sky is black,' he wrote, 'and as yet the signs of a clearing are faint But reason and common sense are on our side from the very beginning The course of the Government has been guided by justice and temper I do not know that any one measure of precaution and strength which human foresight can indicate has been neglected For the rest, the issue is in higher hands than ours I am very confident of complete success'

Another pressing anxiety was the attitude of his own countrymen in India, who were nearly all in favour of a policy of vengeance, so opposed to his own inclinations, which were all toward conciliatory measures As early as July, 1857, Lord Canning had issued a Proclamation in which he had insisted on the necessity for discrimination in the treatment of rebels this policy had been denounced as too conciliatory and lenient, and the title 'Clemency Canning' had been given him in derision It is only fair to say here that many of those who thus denounced him were afterwards the first to acknowledge this title to be the highest honour they could have bestowed upon him An extract from a letter which Lord Canning wrote in September of the same year to Queen Victoria illustrates that attitude of his countrymen during the darkest hours of the crisis which he had to combat 'There is a rabid and indiscriminate vindictiveness abroad even among those who ought to set a better example' He wrote in a similar strain to his old friend, Lord Granville He had been

urging him to show to the English people that justice and patience should guide the action of the Rulers of India in dealing with the rebels, once they had ceased their resistance, and he concluded his letter thus: 'Do this, and get others to do it, and you will serve India more than you would believe.'

One very grave problem that Lord Canning had to meet was placed before him by Sir John Lawrence; the question came up at the time when in the minds of many men it had become doubtful whether the British Army was strong enough to recapture Delhi. Sir John Lawrence had suggested that the Peshawar Valley should be ceded to the Amir of Afghanistan, in order to allow of the British and Sikh regiments occupying the valley being sent to reinforce the Army before Delhi. Sir John Lawrence had only made the suggestion because he realized the all-importance of the recapture of Delhi; the proposal had not commended itself to his lieutenants, Edwardes and Nicholson. Lord Canning at once negatived the proposal. 'My answer to your question about Peshawar,' he wrote, is 'Hold on to Peshawar to the last.'

At the commencement of the year 1858, Lord Canning moved his head quarters from Calcutta to Allahabad, in order to be nearer the scene of operations. He added to his already heavy task as Governor-General the additional one of the reorganization of the Province of which Allahabad was the capital; he acted practically as its Lieutenant-Governor. His Military Secretary has described the tremendous strain he put upon his health at this time by his hard labours at the desk. Lady Canning shared in his toil: she often copied out for him long confidential minutes. In the midst of all his other work he proceeded with his control of the important work of reconquest. The task was entrusted to Sir Colin Campbell, and his able lieutenant, Sir Hugh Rose. It is no part of the scope of this sketch to tell how they accomplished their task: it has been dealt with elsewhere. It is sufficient to state that the operations which resulted in the final suppression of the Mutiny extended over a period of two years. Though the success of the actual operations was due to the Generals engaged, their superintendence and direction rested with the

Governor-General, and the whole responsibility for the successful issue was his, just as the responsibility would have been his had the operations been a failure A splendid tribute to Lord Canning's administration of the war was paid by Mr Wilson, the first Financial Member of the Government of India, on the occasion of his first Budget Speech, in the year 1860 —

'The future historian of India,' he said, 'will dwell with pride upon the fact that India was governed during this period of disturbance by a nobleman who never, in the midst of the greatest peril, allowed his judgement to be swayed by passion, or his fine sense of honour and justice to be tarnished by even a passing feeling of revenge' To Lord Canning, therefore, the gratitude of England is due for settling conclusively the maintenance of British supremacy in the East

At a recent banquet given to the veterans who had been engaged in the Indian Mutiny, one of Lord Canning's most brilliant successors in the office of Governor-General of India, Lord Curzon, uttered these ever-memorable words 'Never let it be forgotten that the result of the Mutiny was not merely an England victorious, but an India pacified, united, and started once more upon its wondrous career of advance and expansion' And he then pictured the man to whom the credit of all this was primarily due 'Neither let them forget the Viceroy, Canning, calm amid the tumult, silent in the face of obloquy, resolute through all upon the great and crowning lesson of mercy' It seems strange, in the light of after events, to read of the attacks made upon him by the European community in India, to which reference has already been made, for those very qualities of mercy and equanimity which are now considered to have been his greatest claim to the admiration of men but so it was The European community did not content themselves with attacking him personally, but they embodied their complaints in a petition for his recall which they addressed to the Queen The character of these complaints may be illustrated by the conclusion of the petition, which recommended a policy of repression as opposed to a policy of conciliation Their mistaken idea that calmness and coolness implied an insufficient sense

of the gravity of the situation on the part of the Governor-General must be their excuse

A curious outcome of this petition was an attempt that was made, though fortunately without success, by some interested politicians in Parliament, to get the name of Lord Canning excluded from the vote that passed both Houses early in 1858, thanking the Indian Services, civil and military, for their zeal in the suppression of the Mutiny

The accusation of undue leniency brought against Lord Canning by the European community did not try his calmness so much as did an accusation of undue severity on the part of a responsible Minister of the Crown In the spring of 1858, Lord Canning had issued a Proclamation addressed to the landholders, the chiefs, and the inhabitants of Oudh He had, after very careful consideration, arrived at the decision that the best way to meet the particular case of Oudh, the case of an entire population joining in rebellion, was to make confiscation of all proprietary rights in the soil the one declared punishment for rebellion, instead of death, transportation, or imprisonment at the same time, he had expressed his opinion that such punishment should be enforced with an indulgent hand, and should be altogether remitted on timely submission or other valid ground The actual terms of the Proclamation, moreover, made it abundantly clear that all who threw themselves on the justice and mercy of the British Government would be liberally treated A new Ministry had recently come into power in England, Lord Ellenborough, the Minister referred to, was a member of it he thought, on reading the bare words of the Proclamation, that it was unnecessarily harsh and severe, especially so far as the confiscating clause was concerned he wrote to that effect to Lord Canning, and desired him to mitigate the severity of the decree of confiscation Lord Canning, knowing, as is abundantly clear from his private correspondence at the time, that his intentions were all in the direction of justice and humanity, remained calm under the harsh criticism, and wrote a dignified reply, detailing the circumstances that had led to the Proclamation, and expressing his view that his policy, if steadily pursued,

offered the best and earliest prospect of restoring peace to Oudh upon a stable footing At the same time, he added that, if, after a full consideration of all the circumstances, that policy did not commend itself to Her Majesty's Ministers, he was prepared to place his resignation of his high office in Her Majesty's hands One passage in this reply was characteristic of the man 'No taunts or sarcasm, come from what quarter they may, will turn me from the path of public duty' Within eighteen months of his reply Lord Canning was able to declare, at a great Darbar that he held at Lucknow, that the tranquillity of the Province was completely established In 1861, moreover, a deputation of nineteen of the principal Oudh Taluqdars visited him at Calcutta, and assured him that his administration of Oudh had conciliated the confidence and goodwill of the landed classes 'The whole incident,' his biographer truly says, 'displays his characteristic qualities of thoroughness in preparation, wisdom in action, and magnanimity under undeserved attack'

The Mutiny was now finally crushed with its causes it is unnecessary to deal here one indelible lesson it has left behind it, which can be best expressed in the words of a great English lawyer 'The English rule in India represents a belligerent civilization England must be prepared to fight as well as to civilize'

A still greater task, if that were possible, than the suppression of the Mutiny, now awaited Lord Canning, no less a task than the pacification of the country There had long been a feeling in England that the Mutiny had revealed certain defects in the machinery of the Government of India the general opinion in Parliament, as disclosed by the debates on the subject, was that the relations between India and the Sovereign should be drawn closer, and that this could best be brought about by a transfer of the Government of India from the East India Company to the Crown A Bill to this effect was introduced by Lord Palmerston, and was finally passed into law under the administration of Lord Derby The essential feature of the change made by this Act was that the British Parliament became the final authority in Indian administration Steps were at once taken to bring the new Act into opera-

tion. A Proclamation was issued by the Queen of England, addressed to the people of India, to announce the new order of things. By the same mail that brought this epoch-making Proclamation of Queen Victoria to Lord Canning came the news that Lord Canning himself was to be her first Viceroy. His reply to the Queen, acknowledging his new dignity, was characteristic. 'It is,' he wrote, 'Lord Canning's earnest hope and prayer that, so long as this high function shall be in his trust, it may be administered in a spirit not unworthy of your Majesty, and that when he shall deliver it again into your Majesty's hands, it may be found to be without spot or stain from any act or word of his.' The Royal Proclamation was translated into every language and dialect of India, and read with befitting ceremonial in the great centres of population, and at every civil and military station in India.

The Queen's personal instructions to the Minister entrusted with the task of drafting the document bore the impress of her own benign personality. The Minister was requested to frame it, 'bearing in mind that it is a female Sovereign who speaks to more than a hundred millions of Eastern people on assuming the direct Government over them, and after a bloody war, giving them pledges which her future reign is to redeem, and explaining the principles of her Government. Such a document should breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence, and religious toleration, and point out the privileges which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown, and the prosperity following in the train of civilization.'

Lord Canning himself also issued a Proclamation, calling upon all Her Majesty's subjects to yield loyal obedience to their Sovereign.[1] It has been generally recognized that these two Proclamations had a reassuring effect upon the country at large. One excellent effect they certainly had: they showed the people of India that they now possessed a personal Sovereign, directly interested in their welfare, in place of an impersonal and intangible abstraction known as 'The Company Bahadur.' Any one who witnessed the enthusiastic loyalty with which the Prince and Princess of Wales were greeted throughout India on their

recent tour will be able to estimate the real value of such a conviction in a country like India, where personality is so great an influence

Lord Canning did not content himself with merely issuing these two Proclamations he proceeded to make several tours over India to enhance their effect His principal object was to enable him to receive the great Feudatory Chiefs in Darbar, and to reward all whose loyalty during the rebellion had been conspicuous These royal progresses of Lord Canning were almost on a similar scale to those of the Mogul rulers in their palmy day sof prosperity, and such as befitted the dignity of 'The Great Lord Sahib'

Indian literature is full of descriptions of great state ceremonial, and this shows the importance that an Oriental people attach to such display The greatest expression of such a feeling in modern days was the Darbar held by Lord Curzon at Delhi, to celebrate the accession to his throne of the King-Emperor, Edward the Seventh At these Darbars Lord Canning was able to assure the great chiefs of the new and liberal policy inaugurated, the right of adoption was henceforth to be recognized by the British Government, as it never had been recognized before by any Government, as affecting sovereignty as well as property. Henceforth, he assured them, the right of adopting an heir to their rights of sovereignty was to form an essential part of their privileges He was able also to proclaim to the great landowners a policy under which their privileges and position would be more sympathetically recognized than under the old régime

Special interest attached to the Darbar he held at Ambala, where perhaps his most pleasing duty was performed in rewarding, for their conspicuous loyalty, the great Cis Sutlej chieftains, the Maharajas of Jhind, Nabha, and Patiala Interest also attaches to a Darbar he held at a later date at Lucknow, the object of which was to persuade the nobility of Oudh to use their influence in checking the crime of infanticide, then so common amongst the Rajputs of that Province

At that great banquet recently given to the Mutiny veterans, to which reference has already been made, Lord

Curzon mentioned the effect on the immense body of spectators assembled at his great Darbar, of the appearance of the small band of Mutiny heroes it is interesting to note that at one of the Darbars held by Lord Canning he received the Volunteer Guard of one of the important gates of the Lucknow Residency, who had rendered conspicuous service during the famous siege

The next task that Lord Canning undertook on his return from his tours was that of a reconstruction of the machinery of Government as it affected its working in India itself One of the most necessary reforms was a reconstitution of the Governor-General's Council, executive and legislative this was effected by the Indian Councils Act, which was passed in 1861 The change made was in the direction of giving a more representative character than had hitherto been the case to the Council, this was done by introducing additional members into the Council for the special purpose of legislation Half of these additional members were to be non-officials

Lord Canning also had the work of the Council re-distributed, with a view to facilitating public business The old system has been described as one in which a great deal of work was done twice over and a great deal was never done at all Under the new system, each member was placed in charge of a separate department of public business The Council was thus converted practically into a Cabinet

Another reform was in the direction of reducing the old disproportion that had existed between the numbers of Indian troops and the European forces The local European army, too, was amalgamated with the Queen's troops, and ceased to exist as an independent force Finance also received its due share of attention for the first time in the history of the Government of India an English financier was appointed a member of the Governor-General's Council The first Financial Member was Mr James Wilson, who arrived in India at the close of 1859, and made his first Budget Speech early in 1860 Additional taxation had been rendered necessary by the heavy expenses connected with the events of the Mutiny, and one of the features of this first Budget was the imposition of direct taxes A

curious claim was preferred by the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay: they claimed exemption from the additional taxation on the ground that their armies had not rebelled. The words in which the claim was disallowed mark the statesman: 'We are one great dependency under one Sovereign, and we have one clear duty before us, to unite with all our efforts and all our means in maintaining the Empire prosperous and inviolate.'

A claim had also been put forward by the great landowners of Bengal that, under the Permanent Settlement, they could claim exemption from the general taxation of the country. This claim was also disallowed; it was pointed out that the author of the Permanent Settlement, Lord Cornwallis, had laid down the principle that all who enjoy the protection of the State must pay for it in accordance with their means.

The last year of the Viceroyalty of Lord Canning was marked by certain anxieties, both public and private. Among his public anxieties were floods over large tracts of country due to an exceptionally heavy monsoon: there was, too, a great outbreak of cholera in the Upper Provinces of Bengal, and in the Punjab. Among his private anxieties, the greatest was the death of Lady Canning. She died from the effects of malarious fever, towards the close of the year 1861, and was buried in the beautiful park at Barrackpur, where the Governor-Generals of India have a country residence within a few miles of Calcutta.

Lord Canning himself inscribed these words on her tomb: 'Honours and praises written on a tomb are at best a vain glory.' Lady Canning was remarkable for her nobility of character, and her loss was mourned by large numbers throughout the length and breadth of India. Lord Canning was himself temporarily prostrated by the blow.

One of the last public measures of Lord Canning's Viceroyalty was arranging for the administration of Burmah and of the Central Provinces, a newly created Province, by Chief Commissioners.

He finally handed over his office to his successor, Lord Elgin, in March, 1862, and left India a week later; he has been described as looking pale, wan, toil-worn, and grief-stricken on the day of his embarkation.

The farewell addresses that were presented to him were all marked by a tone of sincere regret one of these addresses concluded with these words 'Safe may you return to your native land the good wishes of all attend you , in that land of the West, if justice and humanity are ever honoured, you cannot but hold a distinguished place '

Lord Canning returned home only to die in June of the same year the end came Like his great predecessor, Lord Dalhousie, he had given his life for India He was only forty-nine at the time of his death He received the high honour of burial in the Abbey of Westminster, where only England's Sovereigns and noblest sons are buried

The magnificent eulogy which his biographer has pronounced on Lord Canning may fittingly conclude this sketch of a great and good man 'Whatever the origin of the Mutiny, an unexampled and appalling crisis had to be met Lord Canning met it in a manner of which every Englishman may be proud, with firmness, with magnanimity, with calm, inflexible justice On a stage crowded with heroic personages, he stood an impressive central figure, rising high above the ephemeral hostility with a dignity which, as the scene recedes and we are able more justly to appreciate its proportions, places him high on the list of those great officers of State whose services to their country entitle them to the esteem and gratitude of every loyal Englishman '

CHAPTER III

THE PACIFICATOR

Sir Henry Lawrence, 1806–1857

Henry Lawrence's father was a man who had done good service in India as a soldier, of his six sons, four also did distinguished service in the same country, and two, John and Henry, did specially conspicuous service

Henry was born in Ceylon, and after a short school career in that island was sent to England, where he joined the Military Academy of Addiscombe Having obtained a commission in the Bengal Artillery, he went out to India to join his regiment at the early age of seventeen

He arrived in India in time to take part in the first Burmese war thus he early obtained practical experience of military problems, and learnt many lessons which were to be of inestimable value to him in later years, it was at this period of his life that he had his first experience of a military mutiny three Sepoy regiments had demurred to the sea-trip to Burmah, as prejudicial to their caste, and one of them, having refused to lay down its arms when ordered to do so, was promptly fired into by the British artillery by orders of the officer commanding The mutiny was suppressed, but food for reflection was provided for Lawrence's mind as to its original cause, and he could not help coming to the conclusion that the exercise of more thought and judgement on the part of the military authorities might have prevented it altogether The chief military event of the war was the capture of Arakan, in effecting which many hardships had to be undergone the troops suffered much throughout the campaign from a very violent type of fever Lawrence himself became so ill that he was invalided home, and was ordered to go by the longest sea route, so as to get the full benefit of the voyage, as it was, the effects of the fever never really left him

On his return to India, he was accompanied by his brother

John, who was coming out for the first time as a young civilian in the Company's service He was posted to a station where his elder brother, George, already was John was posted there soon afterwards, and so the three brothers had the happiness of all being near each other for some two years or so Henry, who had already spent much time in reading historical and military works, took up the study of Oriental languages, in order to qualify for civil and political employment, and, with a view to entering the Horse Artillery, he also went in for riding He spent some time on the canals of the North-West with the great engineer officer, Colonel Cautley he thereby acquainted himself with the duties and difficulties of canal engineering and irrigation operations His exertions to make himself a thoroughly efficient officer were rewarded by his at length obtaining Staff employment, and he was appointed to the Revenue Survey He was engaged on this for some five years, and it was his work in this direction that established his character and reputation, and led to his recognition in high quarters, the real benefit to himself, however, lay in the sound and intimate insight that it gave him into native life and character 'Here,' says a writer, 'he first really learned to know the natives of India, and the best class of natives, the agricultural population it was their villages, their fields, their crops, their interests of every kind, with which his eyes, hands, thoughts, and heart were now occupied for five years Instead of living in a European station, he pitched his tents among the people, under their trees, and by their streams, for eight months out of twelve He saw them as military men seldom can see them, and as all civilians ought to see them, in their homes and daily life, and thus learnt to sympathize with them as a race and to understand their wants' His previous experiences in the Irish Ordnance Survey were now of good service to him, and he was able to make certain suggestions in the direction of more practical methods combined with greater economy his suggestions were all tried and proved eminently successful in putting matters connected with Revenue Survey generally on a sounder basis

When the Afghan troubles broke out, Lawrence was ordered to rejoin his regiment, but he was soon afterwards

appointed to the Political Staff on the Punjab frontier, at Firozpur This appointment has been described as the turning-point in his career his connexion with the Sikhs and their country thus began he was also brought into close relations with Sir George Clerk, then Mr Clerk, who was already recognized as a statesman of the highest rank Lawrence threw all his energy into the task of administration of the Firozpur State this was one of the States that had lapsed to the British on the death of its chief His first essay in government met with such success that Mr Metcalfe, the Governor-General's Agent, congratulated him on the great improvement effected by his vigorous rule the measure of his success may be gauged by the fact that the surrounding independent chiefs requested him to act as arbitrator in their disputes and boundary questions The death of the Ruler of the Punjab, the Maharaja Ranjit Singh, in 1839, weakened the relations between the Sikhs of that country and the English this necessitated increased vigilance, energy, and tact on the part of Lawrence He was not found wanting his part was to watch the chiefs with the utmost vigilance, to guard against the action of the crafty and ambitious, and to guide and support the well disposed

Recent events in Afghanistan had rendered it all the more necessary to tread warily, for the alliance with the British against Afghanistan had never been popular with the Sikhs generally The news of the rising at Kabul and the serious state of things in Afghanistan generally, having reached Lawrence early, he at once informed his chief, and obtained from him permission to get the consent of the Sikh Darbar to the passage of a brigade of British troops through Sikh territory to Peshawar Sir George Clerk now ordered his transfer to Peshawar in the following complimentary terms 'It is because I feel much confidence in your knowledge of the Sikh authorities, in their reliance on your fair dealing, in your experience as a District Officer and a people's protector, and in your activity and decision to meet emergencies of every shape, that I have selected you for the present to proceed to Peshawar' He was now brought into direct connexion with the Sikhs their support at this crisis was of the utmost consequence,

but British disasters in Afghanistan were having a bad effect upon their attitude their refusal of the request of the officer commanding at Peshawar for the loan of some guns showed sufficiently how unfriendly it was becoming, that eventually it became more friendly was due to the combined and prolonged efforts of Lawrence and his chief But even then their attitude only remained friendly just as long as the British in authority themselves displayed vigour and boldness in the conduct of operations, and the indecision of Lord Ellenborough went far to counteract all the efforts of his subordinates he could not make up his mind to give definite orders to the Generals who were in command of the relieving forces, Pollock and Nott, whether to advance or to retire, he himself was in favour of retirement At last, he threw the responsibility on General Nott he passed orders allowing him to retire via Kabul This was all that the Generals wanted, and their action was now prompt and vigorous, it had, moreover, an excellent effect on the Sikhs, they at once showed their willingness to co-operate

Lawrence accompanied the Sikh contingent, which the Darbar had provided in return for an offer of the Passes and Jalalabad, should the campaign be a successful one The gallant stand made at Jalalabad under such men as Sale and Havelock, and many other heroes, had been the one redeeming feature in an otherwise gloomy situation The operations were completely successful Lawrence was present on the occasion of the dramatic appearance in the English camp of the English prisoners Amongst them was his brother, George Lawrence, for whom he had at one time petitioned to be exchanged as a prisoner of war It is of interest to note that George Lawrence had owed his safety to the high opinion that Akbar Khan had of his character, and to his strict adherence to all the promises he had made to his captor Lawrence had now learnt to know the Sikhs well he had first learnt to know them in the stern and orderly days of Ranjit Singh, then in the period of comparative anarchy when the soldiery rose to practical supremacy in the State, afterwards, and more intimately, during their vacillating relations with the English, and finally, he had commanded and led them

during the fighting in Afghanistan, and had acquired a clear perception of their faults and character, of their good and their bad qualities, he had, moreover, secured the confidence and regard of their chiefs and leaders A tale he published at a later date, entitled *The Adventurer in the Punjab*, gives a picture of the people of that interesting country and their ways His administration of the Kaithal State, which was his next charge, was noted for his summary Revenue Settlement, which had the effect of greatly increasing the agricultural resources of the State, by an increase in the ploughs at work of fifty per cent

He next held for a period of two years the appointment of Resident at the Court of Nepal this period was to him one of comparative rest, and he spent it largely in literary labours

He was recalled from Nepal by the events of the first Sikh War Major Broadfoot, the Political Officer in the Punjab, had been killed at the battle of Firozshah, and Lawrence was required to fill the vacancy thus created

The outcome of this war was the appointment of a Council of Regency to govern during the minority of the young Maharaja At the urgent request of the Council, British troops were to be allowed to occupy Lahore for a time only Lord Hardinge gave orders that the Sikhs should be told plainly that they would eventually be withdrawn, and the Sikhs left without any interference in their government, except that of friendly counsel alone Lawrence was appointed British Agent this was the most important office that had so far been conferred upon him his duty was to watch and control the Council of Regency of a State that, though smaller than before the war—for its southern boundary was now the river Beas, instead of the Sutlej—was still the most important State in India He had been specially chosen to hold this appointment because of his intimate knowledge of the Sikhs His task was no light one the problems presented were many and intricate, but his judgement never failed him in the hour of trial His first task was to get the numbers of the Army reduced this was effected by degrees Most men reverted to the plough, some enlisted in the British Army, and more

would probably have done so had it not been for certain military regulations in that Army on the subject of head-dress and the wearing of beards. He was also called upon to recapture the strong Fort of Kangra, which had rebelled, and to suppress what in common parlance is called a Cow-Row. Perhaps his chief difficulty was due to the intrigues of the Rani in connexion with the affairs of Kashmir. That State, together with Hazara, had been ceded to the British at the close of the first Sikh War, in lieu of the larger portion of the indemnity that the Sikhs were called upon to pay for the expenses of the war. The British had sold it to Gulab Singh, the Ruler of Jammu, who was thought to be the fittest man at the time to rule it; he had, moreover, been loyal to the British during the recent events. The Governor of Kashmir was a Muhammadan nobleman, Sheikh Imam-ud-Din by name; this man, instigated by the Rani, had opposed the entry of Gulab Singh to take up his rights of sovereignty. Lawrence promptly marched with a large force to support the authority of the new ruler; the Sheikh thereupon surrendered at discretion. That Lawrence was thus able to carry the Council and Sikh soldiery with him so loyally was a triumph of personal influence, for in their heart of hearts the Khalsa hated Gulab Singh as thoroughly as the Rani did. The Rani's powers for mischief were curtailed by a new Treaty between the British and the Sikh Darbar, which was signed at the unanimous wish of the Sikh Sardars, who were anxious to prevent her from putting herself at the head of the administration, as she had been proposing. The Treaty was known as the Treaty of Bhairowal; its main object was to exclude the Rani from the assumption of power. By the terms of the Treaty the actual administration was transferred to the British Government during the minority of the young Maharaja. The British Government thus practically became the guardian of the State; the country was to be ruled by a Council of eight leading chiefs, under the control and guidance of a British Resident, whose power was to extend without limit over every department. Lawrence became the first Resident, and was now virtually Ruler of the Punjab. The acquiescence of the new Council of Regency in all Lawrence's measures for the good govern-

ment of the country was a proof of his tact and statesmanship His guiding precept given to all those working with him was 'Settle the country, make the people happy, and take care that there are no rows' He was fortunate in having as his coadjutors such men as Abbot, Lumsden, Nicholson, and Edwardes, not to mention his own brother John The confidence of the people seemed outwardly won, but the Rani's constant intrigues prevented it from being all plain sailing Her powers for mischief were at last put a final end to by her removal, as a state prisoner, to Benares and not too soon, as she had been aiming at the assassination of one of the leading members of the Council of Regency, and at the corruption of British Sepoys, she was further found to have been instigating the Governor of Multan, Mulraj, to rebel, as at a later period he actually did The real danger to permanent peace was the temper of the Sikh soldiery and of the other warlike members of the community That Lawrence himself fully recognized the rocks ahead, his own words show 'At no period of Anglo-Indian history has any great conquest or crisis been immediately followed by complete peace and security in the countries annexed to our dominions, or by the universal goodwill of a people whom we have beaten in the field' Fortunately, he himself possessed the qualities demanded by the situation, vigilance, sagacity, and vigour, and above all common sense, were among his leading characteristics His rule lasted for the comparatively short space of six months, the actual amount of work achieved during this time affords a striking testimony to the vigour of his administration it comprised a more or less complete survey of the whole country, and the readjustment of the fiscal and excise systems, oppressive duties and Government monopolies were abolished, and the construction of roads was commenced, and further, a simple code of laws, founded on Sikh customs, had been framed by a selected body of fifty headmen of villages under the supervision of a prominent Sardar, Lehna Singh, a man who had given Lawrence valuable aid in the general work of administration In the midst of all this good work, Lawrence's health unfortunately gave way, as a short spell of leave failed to re-establish it, he was obliged to take furlough to England.

Pending the arrival of his successor in office, Sir Frederick Currie, his brother John acted for him

When he left India early in 1848 in the company of Lord Hardinge, who had just vacated office in favour of Lord Dalhousie, everything seemed to promise permanent peace, but appearances proved deceptive a local outbreak at Multan soon developed into a serious rising of the whole Sikh nation, and within a short time of his arrival in India Lord Dalhousie found himself involved in the second Sikh War That such a war was bound to come, sooner or later, had been generally foreseen Henry Lawrence himself had said 'There was something in the character of the Sikh people, a fickleness of national character, combined with their known pride of race, and a long unchecked career of victory, which contained the elements of future disturbance in the apparently settled appearance of the country' At the same time, it had been his hope that the Punjab would remain permanently a friendly buffer State on the British frontier The second Sikh War, and its final outcome, the annexation of the country, which was the only possible course open to the British, destroyed this hope for ever

Lawrence was in England when the news of war having broken out reached him He was extremely anxious not to be absent from his charge during the crisis, and he decided to return to duty if he were allowed to do so He consulted the Duke of Wellington on the subject, and he expressed his concurrence with Lawrence's proposal The Board of Directors simply told him that his return was entirely optional He returned to India as Sir Henry Lawrence, the distinction of a Knight Commandership of the Bath having been conferred upon him while he was in England He first visited Multan, the scene of the original outbreak which had precipitated the war, and then proceeded to Lahore he was present at Chillianwala In the interval between this battle, and the final battle of Guzerat, which left the Punjab prostrate, he was in constant communication with Lord Dalhousie

Annexation having been determined on, he was called on to make a draft of the Proclamation that was to be issued to the Sikh nation, announcing the fact the first draft

had to be modified to bring it more into keeping with the views of the Governor-General The slight differences of opinion that had arisen between the Governor-General and Sir Henry Lawrence had been due to a natural anxiety on the latter's part lest a too great severity in the wording of the Proclamation might lead to the entire alienation of the people Lord Dalhousie insisted on its being modified, nevertheless, in his actual policy, he did eventually adopt and utilize many of Sir Henry's views This Proclamation, which was issued in the spring of 1849, announced that the Sovereignty of the Punjab had passed over to the Queen of England

Sir Henry Lawrence had, previously to the issue of the Proclamation, tendered his resignation of his office, but the tactful compliment paid him by Lord Dalhousie, who had told him that he wished the people of the Punjab to continue to have the benefit of his sympathetic administration, had led him to withdraw it The terms in which the Governor-General had expressed his wishes show abundantly that, whatever other differences of opinion there might have been between the Chief and his subordinate, they were united on the one point of the necessity for sympathy between the rulers and the ruled 'The Governor-General,' so ran the letter, 'particularly desired that he should continue in his leading position in the Punjab, if only for the special reason that it would ensure his having the best opportunity for effecting his great object the fair and even indulgent consideration of the vanquished, the smoothing down of the inevitable pangs of subjugation to these proud and brave enemies, with whose chiefs and leaders no man was so familiar as he, or so appreciative of what was noble in their character'

Eventually, the administration was placed in the hands of a Board of three members, consisting of Sir Henry Lawrence, his brother John, and Mr Mansel, with Sir Henry Lawrence as President

When Sir Henry Lawrence had been Resident at Lahore he had issued certain instructions to his officers which embodied his own views of what kind of administration was best suited to the circumstances of the country 'In a new country,' he had said, 'especially a wild one, prompt-

ness, accessibility, brevity, and kindness are the best engines of government have as few forms as possible, and as are consistent with a brief record of proceedings Be considerate and kind, not expecting too much from ignorant people Make no change unless certain of decided improvement in the substitute light assessment, considering the claims and privileges, even when somewhat extravagant, of the privileged classes, especially when they affect government, and not the peasantry' The circumstances were now much the same, and the administration of the new triumvirate was conducted on more or less the same lines Sir Henry Lawrence's own especial aims were directed towards effecting the conciliation, and creating the goodwill which he regarded as of paramount necessity to the welfare of the Empire Certain differences of opinion arose between him and his brother in the details of administration The subject of finance was one of the matters in which the two brothers did not see eye to eye Henry Lawrence's own conciliatory methods doubtless conduced to the contentment and peace of the Province, but the financial management of John Lawrence alone made it prosperous while John's maxim was, 'To make ends meet,' Henry's was, 'In public as in private life, judicious liberality is in the end economy' he held that money was saved by keeping men contented, preserving the peace, and getting expeditiously through work, and that it was gained, and the revenue increased, by expenditure on roads and canals

Another matter on which the brothers disagreed was on the subject of the creation of an influential aristocracy such as existed on the other side of the Sutlej, in the great houses of Patiala, Jhind, and Nabha Henry would have liked to create similar great houses in the new Province John, however, agreed with the principles laid down by Lord Dalhousie he would have no new families created, personal weight and force of character was the only influence that he would recognize over and above that of the British administration

There was one subject indeed, in which there was something more than a mere difference of opinion between the brothers actual friction arose this was in the case of

the treatment of the old Jaghirdars These Jaghirdars were men of position who had received grants of land from Ranjit Singh, or who had acquired land by the sword, and who held them on rent-free tenures The question arose as to how many of these rent-free tenures were to be disallowed, and how many retained

Lord Dalhousie had decided most of the cases, but he had left certain classes of cases which were to be decided on their merits John was interested in the question as Revenue Officer, and Henry as Political Officer Naturally, the different points of view from which they looked at the question left room for much divergence of opinion The friction became so acute that the matter had eventually to be referred to Lord Dalhousie His opinion coincided in the main with that of John Lawrence Sir Henry Lawrence, feeling that his position as head of the administration was becoming a merely nominal one, thereupon tendered his resignation, and so, for that matter, did John Lawrence That of Sir Henry was accepted, and Lord Dalhousie, in communicating the fact to him, informed him that the decision had also been come to of changing the form of administration, one man was henceforth to be responsible as Chief Commissioner To take the sting out of the announcement, he wrote to Sir Henry Lawrence in these terms 'All the world unites in acknowledging the talents and merits of Sir Thomas Munro I cannot therefore illustrate the strength of my own convictions on this head better than by saying that, if Sir Thomas Munro were now President of your Board, I should still hold the opinion I have expressed regarding the office of Chief Commissioner' The Board was accordingly dissolved, and John Lawrence appointed Chief Commissioner

The office of Governor-General's Agent in Rajputana was conferred on Sir Henry His departure from the Punjab was made the signal for a great demonstration of sorrow in which all classes, chiefs and peasantry alike, joined One high official thus wrote of him 'The sway which he exercised over classes of men widely different in every feeling was almost marvellous There were the conquerors and the conquered, the European officials and

the Sikh Sardars, some of the best specimens of English gentlemen and of the roughest of Asiatic chiefs, all alike lamenting over the departure of the man who seemed to be the personal friend of one and all.' On the question that had caused the split between the two brothers, it may be noted that Lord Canning, on a visit he paid to Lahore after the Mutiny, adopted more liberal measures towards the old Jaghirdars. This was only in accordance with the policy adopted by Government after that crisis, which was all in the direction of strengthening the influence of the hereditary aristocracy of India; it was the same policy that led to the creation, moreover, in the Central Provinces, of whole classes of feudatory and political chiefs out of the leading landholders.

Sir Henry Lawrence ruled in Rajputana for a period of four years. On his first arrival in a country so different from any other that he had been in, he was disappointed at the signs of the degeneracy of the great houses, the members of which had at one time been noted for their gallantry and honour. One feature specially struck him: this was the feudal system that prevailed under a strongly developed tribal organization. It took him some time to get accustomed to this system, and to learn to appreciate the many excellent qualities of the new race he was called on to rule; it did not take him long, however, to earn a reputation for sympathetic and just administration. One illustration of his sympathetic treatment of a matter that was affecting a large number of the old nobility will suffice. Under the new policy of the supreme Government in connexion with the subject of adoption, many adoptions in different parts of India had been entirely set aside: a certain amount of irritation had been caused in Rajputana by this policy. An important case had recently occurred there, the case of the Karauli State. It was a curious case, for it was not a case where the Government had set aside an adoption, but where their approval of one had unexpectedly clashed with certain privileges and rights of adoption claimed by the Thakurs of the State; it was an illustration indeed, of the many difficulties that the British Government has to contend with in governing Oriental peoples. The late chief of the State had died,

leaving an adopted son the adoption had been approved of by Government, though not without some preliminary hesitation on the part of Lord Dalhousie, and the matter seemed to have ended here But Sir Henry Lawrence, having ascertained that the Thakurs, a class corresponding to the Barons of English mediaeval history, felt aggrieved at their claim to adopt having thus been set aside, examined into the matter, and decided that, while adoption was the proper course, the chief himself who had died had no legal right to adopt, as he was a minor and unmarried, and that the claim of the Thakurs was therefore a just and lawful one , their choice had fallen on another prince, other than the one whose adoption the Government had approved of Sir Henry Lawrence thereupon laid his views of the matter before Lord Dalhousie, who ordered effect to be given to them The result, we are told, of this decision on the feelings of both chiefs and people was very marked all felt that a régime had arisen, not only sympathetic and well-intentioned, but vigorous and unflinching in its justice Sir Henry Lawrence set his face vigorously against certain heinous malpractices rife in the country, notably the crime of female infanticide, Sati, and the barbarous maltreatment of prisoners but he worked through the chiefs he aimed at interesting them, and leading them to realize that these and kindred matters were the proper subjects for the exercise of their position and functions as rulers, and that to them would accrue the credit of success The inauguration some years afterwards, by Lord Mayo, of his schemes for the education and enlightenment of the Rajputana chiefs and nobles, which resulted in the foundation of the college at Ajmir, named after himself, The Mayo College, was the natural complement of Sir Henry Lawrence's great work in the direction of their enlightenment

During his tenure of office in Rajputana, Sir Henry Lawrence had been offered the chief appointments in Hyderabad and Oudh, but had declined them It had been his intention to take furlough to England in 1856, but the outbreak of war with Persia led to a change in his plans Sir James Outram, who at the time was Chief Commissioner of Oudh, was appointed to the command of

the Persian expedition Lord Canning's choice for the vacant appointment in Oudh fell upon Sir Henry Lawrence he at once accepted the charge with all its responsibilities the country was known to be in a serious state of discontent, disaffection, and sedition it was the great reputation that Sir Henry Lawrence had already won in the Punjab as a pacificator that led to his choice by Lord Canning A striking testimony to the reputation he had left behind him in Rajputana is the story told of how, on hearing of his subsequent death at Lucknow, the Rao Raja of Karauli, on whose behalf he had interfered so successfully in the matter of adoption, was so deeply grieved as to abstain from all food for several days

The story of the annexation of Oudh was still a very recent one a chronic state of anarchy, arising from a prolonged period of misgovernment and misrule, during which many of the inhabitants had been either destroyed or driven away by oppression, had necessitated decisive action on the part of the British Government Sir James Outram had been the first British administrator, and as long as he had remained in office much had been done in the direction of the fulfilment of the promises contained in the Proclamation that had announced the annexation , but in the interval between his departure and the arrival of Sir Henry Lawrence much irritation had been caused both amongst the Taluqdars and amongst their clansmen, the peasantry, at certain action that had been taken whereby many of the former had been deprived of portions of their Estates, contrary to what they considered to be the terms of the Proclamation Active brigandage had set in under one Fazl Ali, and a Maulvi had been preaching a Jihad, or religious war, against the infidel English The restoration of law and order was the first task that Sir Henry Lawrence applied himself to he dispersed the bands of brigands, and imprisoned the Maulvi it was afterwards discovered that this man had long been actively instigating and fomenting revolt in many other Provinces , later on, indeed, he became one of the most prominent leaders in the Mutiny Sir Henry Lawrence next proceeded to ascertain how far the promises and engagements made at the time of the annexation had been fulfilled,

and to take steps for their fulfilment, where that had not been the case thus he arranged for pensions and gratuities for the members of the old royal family, and for their more courteous treatment he also devised measures for an increase of employment for many of the officials and soldiery of the old régime he inquired into the tenures of the Taluqdars, and held out promises of the entire fulfilment of the terms of the Proclamation regarding their estates The immediate effect of these conciliatory measures was to allay much of the discontent and ill-feeling against the new régime that had been so prevalent But Sir Henry Lawrence knew well that things were far from right there was disaffection in the Army, which had manifested itself even before he had taken up his position at Lucknow, and there was a general feeling of unrest and of expectancy beginning to pervade the whole community On his way to Oudh from Rajputana, he had had occasion to pass through Agra he had expressed his fears of the actual state of things in some conversations with his civilian friends 'Yon Brahmans,' he had said, 'will be shut up in the Fort before we meet again', he had also addressed Lord Canning on the same subject With his usual foresight, therefore, he proceeded to turn his attention to precautionary military measures Having been in Lucknow some years before, he knew something of the features of the place He first had the old Sikh Fort of Machhi Bawan repaired and equipped with military stores, he arranged too for a better distribution of troops Besides the signs in other parts of India of the trouble brewing, incidents had occurred in Lucknow itself which all pointed in the same direction, the demeanour of the Nana Sahib, moreover, in openly parading the streets of Lucknow, had excited the strong suspicions of Lawrence One curious incident had occurred in the Sepoy Hospital An English surgeon, wishing to show a Sepoy that there was no harm in some medicine he was about to administer to him, had put the bottle to his lips all English medicine was promptly boycotted, and the surgeon's house fired by the Sepoys out of revenge, this alone showed how the spirit of disaffection was spreading in the Army, it also showed Lawrence the necessity of being prepared for the

worst A local outbreak on the part of the recruits of a regiment of Oudh Infantry put him more than ever on the alert He now decided to prepare the Residency for defence The correspondence that he had with Lord Canning early in May, 1857, is of special interest He fully realized that the essence of the disturbances would be found to lie with the Sepoy troops, and he made certain suggestions for removing some of their actual grievances, especially in the direction of increased pay The most interesting parts of this correspondence are certain conversations he records which he had held with native officers in one case a striking illustration is given of the general dislike prevailing at the time in the Bengal Army to crossing 'the Black Water', as they called the sea One native officer was asked whether he would prefer 100 rupees at Aden to 50 at Baroda he replied, 'Of course I went where I was ordered, but life is precious, anything in India is better than wealth beyond sea' Another conversation is of special interest, as it helps to some slight comprehension of the inscrutable workings of the inner mind of the Oriental it serves to show that a man's own individual convictions, however enlightened he may be, are easily allowed to go by the board, when the general belief of his neighbours, credulous as it may appear to him to be, sets in the opposite direction Sir Henry Lawrence had conversed with a native officer, a Brahman of twenty years' standing in the service, and a man noted for special intelligence and good character the officer had said to him, 'I only tell you what every one says, and what every one is saying will be believed', he added, 'I tell you they are like sheep, the leading one tumbles, and down all the rest roll over him' When asked whether he himself believed the rumour he was referring to, that the Government were bent on forcibly proselytizing, he gave no direct answer, but simply said, 'I only tell you what every one is saying', he thus allowed it to be assumed that he did believe it—a truly Oriental position But similar instances to this are continually coming to the notice of those whose work brings them closely into touch with the people of India The wild rumours that spread through Poona, and indeed throughout India, at the time plague

measures were being first introduced, and which culminated in the assassination of two British officers engaged in the humane task of combating that dreadful disease, is but one illustration out of many of this fact

The Sepoys, generally, recognized Sir Henry Lawrence's own sympathetic demeanour and policy, this largely accounts for the fact that he was able to retain the faithful services of so many during the crisis that soon befell

With the actual outbreak of the Mutiny, Sir Henry Lawrence completed the preparations that he had commenced with such foresight The Machhi Bawan Fort was now garrisoned, and the Residency more completely prepared to withstand a long siege At the same time, he enjoined all his officers to show a firm and cheerful aspect, together with the utmost watchfulness and promptness in dealing with the first germs of insurrection He had expected the co-operation, in the maintenance of order, of the chiefs and people of substance whom he had so recently conciliated, many of them did at first show satisfactory signs of goodwill, though later events proved too much for their loyalty Lord Canning had written to thank him for his services, which he had described as invaluable, and invaluable indeed they were for a time, indeed, it seemed as if the peace of the Province was not to be disturbed But Delhi was a factor not to be ignored the people of the country generally had considered that, with its capture by the rebels, the Iqbal, or Good Fortune, of the Company, had departed, and, so long as this opinion held, no amount of conciliation could maintain loyalty for long As time passed, and no news arrived of any measures having been taken against Delhi, Sir Henry Lawrence saw signs of failing loyalty all round him At the same time, it is to the credit of the Taluqdars of Oudh, that, as the Mutiny spread throughout the Province, most of them were helpful in aiding and protecting the English community The story of old Hunwant Singh, a typical Rajput chief, will serve to illustrate the attitude of very many of them at this crisis he had protected and aided Captain Barrow and his party into safety, but when he was urged to join the British side with his clan, he replied 'No, I obeyed the

orders of the Nawab to avoid opposing your annexation, but I now hold myself free to act as I think fit'

At length, at the end of May, a mutiny broke out in Lucknow, and, though the mutineers were defeated in the engagement that ensued, several British officers were killed This rising in Lucknow was the first mutiny in the heart of India after the Mirat and Delhi outbreak, and gave the signal, it has been said, for the spread of the revolt Throughout the month of June, Sir Henry Lawrence went steadily on with his preparations for the great defence The news of the fall of Cawnpur to the mutineers at once necessitated still more vigorous measures, as the mutineers were soon on the march for Lucknow An attempt was made to check their advance, it was, however, unsuccessful, and they were thus enabled to cross the river

The investment of the Residency commenced with dramatic suddenness on the afternoon of June 30, by midnight of July 1, the Machhi Bawan garrison was withdrawn by Colonel Palmer, who succeeded in effecting the withdrawal without the loss of a single man The siege of the Residency had now commenced in earnest, and the gallant garrison, who have contributed one of the most inspiring pages to the history of the British in India, were not to be finally relieved until after nearly five months of strenuous resistance and endurance

The man who had planned the defence, and whose foresight, under Providence, alone rendered it possible for that defence to be successful, was fatally wounded by a shell from the enemy's batteries within ten days from the commencement of the siege, and, within four days of his being wounded, was dead Among his last instructions to the officer commanding the garrison were the ever-memorable words 'Never give in' History has recorded how those instructions were obeyed

Before the news of his death reached England, he had been nominated to succeed provisionally to the office of Governor-General of India, in the event of the death, resignation, or coming away, of Viscount Canning, and pending the arrival of a successor from England This fact speaks volumes for the high reputation he had won during his thirty-four years' service in India

The principles of conduct that had actuated him throughout his whole career had always been of the highest Like his brother John, he possessed a deeply religious turn of mind, he was the same devout, religious, and God-fearing man, and he showed his religious convictions ever in his acts and in his bearing At the same time he never obtruded religion outside his own immediate home-circle, or the circle of his most intimate associates The secret of his unique influence among the people of the country was his recognition of the allowances that were due to many of their prejudices and habits, and, along with this recognition, his ever-ready sympathy and considerateness, his generosity and frankness, and his appreciation of their many good qualities The result of this combination of qualities was the recognition by the people on their side that their welfare was his only thought This kindness and consideration was shown to all classes alike in India, both Indians and Europeans, it was indeed part of the essence of the man The establishment of the Lawrence Asylum and other kindred institutions for the benefit especially of the children of the domiciled European community, was but one way in which these qualities were exhibited

The spirit by which, indeed, he worked for India may be seen in the epitaph on his tomb in the grounds of the Residency at Lucknow 'Here lies Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty'

CHAPTER IV

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE GREAT REVOLT

Clyde (1792–1863) and Strathnairn (1801–1885)

The names of Lord Clyde and Lord Strathnairn will always be identified with the operations that ended with the complete suppression of the Indian Mutiny Great military leaders may often be allowed to rank as rulers equally with great administrators, for without the work done by them there would often be no work for administrators to do More especially then may Lord Clyde and Lord Strathnairn be allowed to take rank as Rulers of India, for without the work done by them in the suppression of the great revolt, British rule in India might have disappeared for ever during that time of storm and stress

A separate account of each of these great military commanders is given in this sketch, for, though one was Commander-in-Chief and the other his lieutenant, the work of the lieutenant was, if anything, of greater importance in its ultimate effects than the work of the commander The time covered by the operations of each was much the same

The task they had to perform was no light one The numbers of disciplined and trained Sepoys that took part in the revolt may be estimated from the fact that, out of seventy-four regular regiments of the Bengal Native Infantry, forty-five actually mutinied, twenty were disarmed, three were disbanded, and only six remained true to their salt

The operations, moreover, extended over vast areas The neutral attitude of the people generally alone prevented the task from being an impossible one The Mutiny was primarily a military rising aided and abetted by a proportion of the hereditary criminal classes, and by all those who had little or nothing to lose, but, as Lord Lawrence has recorded, the industrial classes throughout

India were on the English side, though for a long time they feared to act On the one side they saw the few English in the country shot down or flying for their lives, or, at the best, standing on the defensive, hard pressed, on the other side they saw summary punishment in the shape of the destruction and plunder of their houses dealt out to those who aided the English But when the English showed signs of vigour and began to assume the offensive, and vindicate their authority, many of these people came forward and identified themselves with the English cause If the attitude of the great bulk of the people was neutral, the great Princes of India proved conspicuously and actively loyal, this fact was one of the most instructive lessons of the crisis 'The shock was a terrible one,' writes the historian, 'but it left British power more firmly established than ever Foes and friends rose up where their appearance was least expected And one lesson will ever be indelibly engraved on the pages of its history, namely, that while the Indian Princes whom we mistrusted brought their armies and their influence to our aid, the Sepoys whom we trusted turned against us From the day when this experience was taken to heart dates the consolidation of our Indian Empire'

The Mutiny had already been in progress some weeks before the news reached England, and a still longer period elapsed before Sir Colin Campbell reached the scene of operations It will be necessary, therefore, to give some account of its progress previous to the military operations carried out by him and by Sir Hugh Rose, which ended in its final suppression

The first outbreak took place at Mirat early in May, 1857, and owing to some weakness and hesitation of the commanding officer at that important cantonment the mutineers got control of affairs they released the prisoners from the jail, and set fire to the cantonments They then hurried off to Delhi unmolested They soon obtained possession of that city, and proceeded to set up the titular King of Delhi as Sovereign Lord of Hindustan, though they treated both him and his family with contempt and insolence From this moment the revolt took on a more serious complexion, Delhi became the rallying-point, and

'Onwards to Delhi' the cry of the great body of the rebels and those who had attached themselves to their ranks

The other points round which the Mutiny had centred in its early days were Cawnpur and Lucknow The chief instigator of the revolt at Cawnpur was a man who had all along been professing himself a friend of the English all the time, however, he had been awaiting his opportunity, and had been secretly spreading discontent throughout India His opportunity had now come the Sepoys in the cantonments had risen in revolt, and the officer commanding, Sir Hugh Wheeler, believing in the professions of friendship which the Nana Sahib, as this man was designated, had so profusely offered, invited him to lend him some troops to guard the Treasury The Nana at once threw off the mask and put himself at the head of the rebels, and laid siege to the small British garrison By an act of gross treachery he obtained the surrender of the force, and by an act of still grosser treachery had them massacred nearly to a man when they were proceeding to leave Cawnpur by boat, under a safe-conduct signed by his own hand, and finally, the blackest crime of all, which has won him for all time the unenviable designation of 'the infamous Nana Sahib', had the few survivors, the women and the children, hacked to pieces by the butchers of the place, and their bodies thrown into a well He had then celebrated what he was pleased to call his 'glorious victory' by proclaiming himself Peshwa, or Mahratta Sovereign Lord of Hindustan, disregarding the fact that another Sovereign Lord of Hindustan had only recently been proclaimed at Delhi, in the person of the Muhammadan representative of the Moguls

At Lucknow the British had been fortunate in having as their adviser Sir Henry Lawrence, who, with wise prescience and foresight, had taken precautions beforehand to prepare the Residency to stand a siege, with the result that when the crisis came the small but heroic garrison of some seventeen hundred troops all told were able to withstand for months the overwhelming numbers of the rebels, which have been estimated to have amounted at one period of the siege to not far short of one hundred thousand men

Sir Henry Lawrence had died from a wound early in the siege, his dying words had been 'No surrender' The general order issued to the troops by Lord Canning, when that gallant defence had come to an end with the final relief, was as follows 'There cannot be found in the annals of war an achievement more heroic than this defence, which has exhibited in the highest degree a noble and sustained courage, which, against enormous odds and fearful disadvantages, against hope deferred, and through unceasing toil, and wear of body and of mind, still held on, day after day, and finally triumphed'

As regards the rest of India, communication throughout the country had become more or less interrupted Agra had been invested, and the great arsenal at Allahabad had been in serious danger Though there had been only a few local risings in the North-West Provinces, a state of general disorder prevailed

In Bengal, the Province of Behar was practically the only one that was disturbed, this was due to the depredations of the rebel Zamindar, Koer Singh, who was the only landholder in all Bengal to take an active share in the revolt

The most glorious incident in this part of the disturbed provinces was the gallant stand made at Arrah by two civilians assisted by a small force of Sikhs and English—eighty in all For a whole week they successfully withstood the attack of some three thousand of the enemy on the small bungalow they had to defend, which was commanded by a house on which guns had been posted, they were eventually relieved by a small British force The principal hero of this defence, Mr Richard Vicars Boyle, has recently died at the advanced age of eighty-six

Though there was anxiety about other parts of India, a state of quietude generally prevailed, largely the result of the judicious tact displayed by responsible officers on the spot, both Indian and English, thus in the South of India the services rendered by Sir Salar Jung, the great Muhammadan Minister of the Nizam, in keeping under control the great Muhammadan peoples, who were naturally excited on hearing of the proclamation of a Muhammadan Empire in the North, were inestimable

Similarly, on the West of India, the judgement and resolution of the Governor of Bombay, Lord Elphinstone, very largely contributed to the state of quietude that prevailed there the fact that the peace of Kathiawar was maintained by the Princes of that part of the country without the presence of a single British soldier, speaks volumes for his influence with them

That the Punjab remained quiet, and not only so, but contributed materially to the defence of the Empire, was due to the decisive action of Sir John Lawrence and his famous lieutenants

The Sikh Chieftains of Patiala, Jhind, Nabha, Kapurthala, and others, behaved with conspicuous loyalty, they not only came forward with offers of military assistance, but provided guards for English ladies in out-stations, and assisted very materially in the operations against Delhi, as well as in the reoccupation of the disturbed territory round Delhi

It is curious to note that at the very time that the disquieting news of the disturbed state of affairs in India reached England, the leading English journals in London, were commenting, as the anniversary of Plassey approached, on the perfect serenity of the Indian sky When England woke to the real facts of the situation, the nation made one of those characteristic efforts which she has so often been called upon to make at a sudden crisis within a few weeks thirty thousand men were on the high road to India

The Commander-in-Chief in India when the Mutiny broke out had been General Anson he had died suddenly from cholera, when commencing his march against Delhi It had therefore become necessary to select a new Commander-in-Chief, and the choice of the Government fell upon Sir Colin Campbell

Sir Colin Campbell was a Scotchman, born at Glasgow in 1792 Having entered the Army at the age of sixteen, he had early distinguished himself by his gallantry and courage during the Peninsular Campaign He had been severely wounded on one occasion in leading a forlorn hope, and had been obliged to go to hospital another attack was made, and he left hospital before his wounds were healed to take part in it this was of course a breach of military

discipline, but it was passed over on account of the personal gallantry that he had again displayed. He had also taken part in the war between America and England of 1812, in the China War, and in the second Sikh War 'for steady coolness and military precision' in which he received the distinction of a K.C.B., and, said Sir Charles Napier to him, on presenting the insignia to him, 'No man has won it better.'

After the Sikh War he had hoped to have been able to retire from active service, but he could not be spared.

On the outbreak of the Crimean war he was again called on to serve in command of 'The Highland Brigade.' It is recorded that when Lord Raglan sent for him after the great battle of the Alma to congratulate him on the share his troops had taken in helping to win the battle, he preferred the simple request that he might be allowed to wear, for the rest of the campaign, the highland bonnet, instead of the cocked hat to which he was entitled as a General: he wished to pay a compliment to his men, and it is almost needless to say that they highly appreciated it.

When the Crimean War came to an end he had fully anticipated that his fighting days were over: he had reached the age when the great majority of men consider themselves entitled to rest; but, fortunately for her own interests, England has never allowed age to stand in the way when she wants the services of men whom she has learnt to trust. Is not Field-Marshal Earl Roberts a conspicuous illustration of this fact? A thoughtful writer has said in this connexion, 'Place a bar as regards age in the military, civil, or legal service, and you will have done something to cut yourself off from the use of the greatest men.' Sir Colin Campbell was sixty-five years of age when he was again called on by his country to assist them in a great emergency. The Government made him the offer of the supreme command in India on July 11, 1857. He was asked, 'When will you be ready to start?' 'To-morrow' was his reply, and on the very next day, July 12, he set out for India. The spirit in which he had accepted the charge may be seen from his utterances on the occasion of his appointment: 'Never did a man proceed on a mission of duty with a lighter heart and a

feeling of greater humility, nor yet with a juster sense of the compliments that have been paid to a mere soldier of fortune like myself in being named to the highest command in the gift of the Crown.'

Sir Colin Campbell took up his command in India in August, 1857; he was destined not to lay it down again till June, 1860. As Commander-in-Chief, he had control of all the military operations, but he personally conducted only the Northern ones, leaving to his lieutenant, Sir Hugh Rose, the conduct of the operations in the South and in Central India. He was fortunate in finding a man like Lord Canning at the head of affairs in India, for his ever ready co-operation and advice in the subsequent movements of the Army were of inestimable value to him.

Possessed as he was of a deep sense of responsibility, and determined to leave nothing to chance, Sir Colin Campbell prepared all his plans most carefully beforehand: his conduct of the campaign was characterized by an extraordinary care for details, and by a close supervision of distant operations; his extreme caution, indeed, earned for him the sobriquet of 'Old Khabardar' from his men. It is recorded of Admiral Lord Nelson that, when he was asked by another famous naval commander, Lord Dundonald, what tactics he should pursue when he came up to the enemy's fleet, his characteristic reply was: 'Tactics be hanged! Go straight at him.' Similarly, many of Sir Colin Campbell's officers would have preferred greater independence of action than he allowed them, and a more vigorous policy. In the end, as history has recorded, his operations were eminently successful, but success was not to be won without a stupendous effort. The measures taken by him comprised three separate movements: two columns were to advance from the West and the South, and the great central movement to the North was to be led personally by himself. Until the plans for his own advance northwards were matured, he remained in Calcutta hurrying up reinforcements, among which was a naval contingent. After a prolonged siege of more than three months, Delhi was finally captured from the rebels late in September, 1857. The final assault cost the life of the gallant John Nicholson, who, since his arrival from the Punjab, had been

the life and soul of the siege 'Nicholson is dead' was the hushed whisper that struck all hearts with grief It is said that to this day the superstitious frontier tribes, where his rule is still remembered, hear the hoofs of his war-horse ringing all night over the Peshawar Valley, and they are said to hold a belief that until that sound dies away the rule of the Feringhi in the valley will endure A memorial to his memory was erected during the Viceroyalty of Lord ~~Curzon~~, at Delhi

The fall of Delhi was celebrated by a banquet in the halls of the historic Diwan-i-Khas, the audience chamber of the Mogul emperors the soldiers pledged the health of the Queen, and loud and prolonged cheering proclaimed the re-establishment of British supremacy

With the transportation of the old Mogul Emperor to Burmah, and the death of his sons, the end of the Mogul dynasty had arrived

With the fall of Delhi, the first real step in the suppression of the Mutiny had been made , till that event, all had felt that the prestige of British supremacy was still trembling in the balance.

The news reached the Commander-in-Chief when he was still in Calcutta he at once wrote to the General Officer commanding at Delhi, to congratulate him on his brilliant success

All eyes were now turned to Lucknow Already, as early as July, Sir Henry Havelock had made several most gallant attempts to relieve the Residency, but he had been unable to achieve his purpose Cholera, dysentery, and floods had all co-operated in hampering the movements of his force fatigue and exposure did the rest, and he had been compelled to halt while waiting for necessary reinforcements These came to him about the middle of September they were under the command of Sir James Outram, who, being the senior officer, would now naturally have taken the command of Havelock's force as well, but with that generosity and nobility of character that have earned for him the title of 'The Bayard of India', he had relinquished the command in favour of Havelock He said to him 'To you shall be left the glory of relieving Lucknow, for which you have already struggled so much I shall accom-

pany you only ın my cıvıl capacıty as Commıssıoner, placıng my mılıtary servıces at your dısposal should you please, and servıng under you as a volunteer ' The Commander-ın-Chıef's comment upon thıs generous conduct was brıef but to the poınt ' Outram has behaved very handsomely ' Lucknow was finally entered by the combıned forces of Havelock and Outram late ın September, 1857, five days only after the fall of Delhı

Among the numerous heroes of the final attack was an officer named Olpherts the trıbute that Outram, hımself the bravest of the brave, paıd to hıs gallantry must have made hım thrıll wıth prıde ' Belıeve me, my dear heroıc Olpherts,' Outram remarked, ' bravery ıs a poor and ınsufficıent term to apply to a valour such as yours '

The final relıef, however, was not yet stıll the hard-pressed garrıson felt the temporary relıef thus accorded them most welcome ıt brought the sıege, wıth all ıts horrors, practıcally to an end, but the garrıson could not be wıthdrawn as yet to a place of safety the posıtıon to be held was extended a consıderable dıstance as far as the Alambagh, but beyond that the ınvestment was complete, and ıt remaıned so tıll the final relıef by the Commander-ın-Chıef ın person, late ın November

Sır Colın Campbell had only left Calcutta late ın October marchıng wıth hıs usual cautıon, he reached Oudh early ın November. A guıde to the Resıdency reached hıs camp soon after hıs arrıval ın the person of a Mr Kavanagh, a member of the Uncovenanted Cıvıl Servıce of Indıa He had a perfect command of Hındustanı, and a faculty for dısguıse, these combıned enabled hım to leave the Resıdency and to reach the camp safely The Vıctorıa Cross was hıs reward for hıs brave act Only after some severe fightıng was Sır Colın Campbell able to relıeve the force ınvested at Lucknow, he succeeded ın safely wıthdrawıng all the garrıson to the Dılkusha Sır Henry Havelock only lıved long enough to know of thıs final relıef he dıed two days after, and hıs loss was mourned by all Sır Colın Campbell finally got all the women and chıldren and the wounded safely to Allahabad, but he had to encounter a large force of rebels under the redoubtable Tantıa Topı on the way hıs vıctory was a decısıve one, thus another

great step in the final suppression of the revolt had been taken The city of Lucknow still, however, remained in the hands of the rebels, and was only finally recaptured in the spring of 1858

Jung Bahadur, the Nepalese ally of the British, gave Sir Colin Campbell material assistance in the operations for its recapture A graphic picture of the extraordinary scene presented on the occasion has been left on record from the pen of one of the foremost war correspondents of the world, the late Sir William Russell 'It was late in the evening when we returned to the camp through roads thronged with at least twenty thousand camp followers, all staggering under loads of plunder—coolies, syces, khidmatghars, dooli-bearers, grass-cutters, a flood of men covered with clothing not their own, carrying on head and shoulders looking-glasses, mirrors, pictures, brass pots, swords, firelocks, rich shawls, scarves, embroidered dresses, all the loot of ransacked palaces Lucknow was borne away piecemeal to camp, and the wild Ghurkas and Sikhs, with open mouths and glaring eyes, burning with haste to get rich, were contending fiercely against the current, as they sought to get to the sources of such unexpected wealth'

Outram had been anxious to carry out a movement for a crushing rear-attack on the rebels when they fled from Lucknow, but Sir Colin Campbell, actuated doubtless by a desire not to weaken his forces in view of the fresh efforts expected of them, had forbidden him to do so, if, by so doing, he would lose a single man As it was, large numbers of the rebels got clear away, and Oudh and Rohilcund were only reconquered after several more stubborn fights The last body of rebels finally surrendered to Brigadier Holdich towards the close of 1859, amongst the men taken was one Jwala Pershad, who had been one of the Nana's principal advisers on the occasion of the terrible Cawnpur massacres

The operations in Behar resulted in the death of the rebel Zamindar, Koer Singh, and in the gradual pacification of the Province, the most notable incident in the final operations was the relief of Azamgarh by Colonel Lord Mark Kerr, who forced his way through an ambuscade

of several thousand Sepoys, which had been cleverly devised by Koer Singh

Sir Colin Campbell remained in India long enough to see the Mutiny finally suppressed, and the pacification of the country commenced He finally left India in 1860, with the title of Lord Clyde conferred on him for his services He was afterwards created Field-Marshal , he died, generally beloved and regretted, in 1863

On the stone that marks the spot where he lies buried in the great Valhalla of England's worthies, Westminster Abbey, these words are inscribed —

> 'He died lamented by the Queen, the Army, and the People '

The operations in Central India had been entrusted to Sir Hugh Rose, but before they can be dealt with some account of his antecedent career is necessary

He learnt the rudiments of military science in Berlin, where he was born, and at the age of nineteen he entered the British Army The tact he displayed as an intelligence officer in dealing with disturbances in Ireland brought him early promotion He won fresh laurels at Malta, not only on account of his military qualifications, but in consequence also of the courage and humanity he displayed during an outbreak of cholera among the troops he visited every man of his regiment who fell ill, and encouraged all around him by his activity and cheerfulness

In Syria he had shown conspicuous gallantry when on special duty with Omar Pasha during certain Turkish operations against the Egyptians putting himself at the head of a body of Arab cavalry and charging down upon the enemy's advanced guard, he had saved Omar Pasha from a surprise He was awarded a sword of honour and a decoration by the Sultan of Turkey in recognition of his courage on this occasion, and Frederick William, the King of Prussia, also decorated him with the Cross of St John of Jerusalem , he had not forgotten his former young friend, as he called him

He soon afterwards received the appointment of British Consul-General for Syria An incident that occurred during this period of his career will serve to illustrate his

cool presence of mind, a characteristic that never seems to have deserted him throughout his military career Civil war was going on between two hostile sections of the population he found the opposing forces firing at one another one day, and without hesitation, and at the imminent risk of his life, he rode between them, and, by the sheer force of a stronger will, stopped the fight At another time he was instrumental in saving the lives of some hundreds of Syrian Christians he gave them his personal escort as far as Beyrout, on the march, he gave his horse up to many a weary woman, and proceeded himself on foot When a great epidemic of cholera, moreover, raged at Beyrout, he was the only European, with the exception of a medical officer and some Sisters of Mercy, who remained behind to visit the sick and dying

He was Secretary of the Embassy at Constantinople in 1851, and acted for a time as Chargé d'Affaires for Lord Stratford de Redcliffe As it happened, the Sultan was at the time being pressed by the Russian Minister to sign a secret Treaty, which he was unwilling to do The Grand Vizier requested Sir Hugh Rose to write to the British Admiral suggesting the expediency of a visit of the British fleet to Turkish waters, the mere hint of which, he thought, would help to stiffen the back of the Sultan in his refusal to sign the obnoxious Treaty Sir Hugh Rose acceded to his request, and though the British Admiral did not act on the suggestion, the desired effect was accomplished, and the intrigues of the Russian Minister were baffled

During the Crimean War he was Queen's Commissioner with the French Army, holding rank as Brigadier-General The French commanders repeatedly thanked him, and the French Marshal recommended him for the Victoria Cross, for the conspicuous gallantry he had displayed on three occasions at least during the operations before Sebastopol

One incident that occurred in connexion with Sir Hugh Rose during the progress of one great battle particularly impressed the imagination of a Russian officer, who tells the story 'He had seen through the mist,' he said, 'a tall gaunt figure riding leisurely down the road under a withering fire from the whole line of pickets the horseman

turned neither to the right hand nor to the left, nor could the Russians hit him. Suddenly they saw him fall headlong with his horse. After a few minutes, paying no attention to the firing, the mysterious horseman got up, patted his horse, and led the animal leisurely back up the road. The Russians were so awestruck that an order was sent along the line to cease firing on the man.'

He received the honour of knighthood from the British Government for his services during the Crimean War. An opportunity was soon after this given him of winning, in the East, a still more distinguished reputation than he had already won in the West. He was to show that, in addition to being a gallant soldier, he was also a born commander.

The chief interest of the campaign in Central India, with which his name will always be identified, centres round the names of the fortresses of Jhansi, Kalpi, and Gwalior. The capture of Jhansi was regarded as of the greatest importance for the success of the other operations that the Commander-in-Chief was conducting further north. he had humorously remarked in a dispatch he sent to Sir Hugh Rose, 'Until this takes place, Sir Colin will be constantly obliged to be looking to his rear, and this constant looking over his shoulder will give him a stiff neck.' It was the great stronghold of the rebels in Central India, and was strongly fortified.

Jhansi had gained almost as unenviable a notoriety amongst the English as Cawnpur had. Nowhere in India did the people display a more intense hostility to the English. In June, 1857, some seventy English men and women were murdered in a most deliberate way. The principal inhabitants and leading tradesmen of the town, headed by Muhammadan priests and fanatics, marched with their victims to the place of execution, singing verses from the Koran, and in particular one merciless text therein contained, 'Death to the Infidel.' The prisoners were then all marshalled in regular order near an old mosque, and they were hacked to pieces by the butchers of the city, just as the victims of the Nana's vindictive hate had been at Cawnpur.

This was all due to the influence of that bitter enemy

of the English, the Rani of Jhansi, who had never forgiven Lord Dalhousie for refusing his sanction to the adoption she had proposed, and for bringing into force the doctrine of lapse, whereby the sovereignty of Jhansi had passed from her family to the British

The Nana, or, as he had styled himself, the Peshwa, sent an army of some 20,000 men under the command of Tantia Topi to assist her in repelling the attack on Jhansi

Until this force was disposed of there was no chance of Jhansi being taken Tantia Topi was the first to attack he was totally routed by the British, losing 1,500 men, all his heavy guns, and his camp equipage Having thus disposed of the rebel commander, Sir Hugh Rose was at liberty to turn his attention again to the capture of Jhansi Every preparation had been made there to resist his attack even native women were to be seen working on the walls, and carrying ammunition, and the Rani of Jhansi herself and her attendant ladies, all richly dressed, used daily to visit a high tower called 'The Black Tower', in the cool of the evening, to watch the progress of the fight After the British had succeeded in scaling the walls, the fighting inside was very fierce the enemy defended themselves with the fury of despair after the gates had been forced, they set fire to trains of gunpowder on the floor of the palace, and even to the powder in their pouches

In one of the severest fights Sir Hugh Rose had one of his spurs shot off and his charger wounded There was one great fight in the palace stables, and amongst the trophies captured there was an English Union Jack it had been given many years before by Lord William Bentinck to a former ruler of Jhansi, with permission to have it carried in front of him as a reward for his fidelity

The Rani had herself let down from a turret window of the palace a horse was in waiting for her below, it had been brought there with the connivence of a native contingent serving with Sir Hugh Rose she mounted, placed her little stepson on the saddle in front of her, and rode off

It is pleasant to record, after the barbarous treatment the English ladies and children had been subjected to by the people of Jhansi, that the British

soldiers treated the enemy's women and children with conspicuous humanity Sir Hugh Rose himself has left it on record that 'the recollection of the atrocious murders could not make the English soldiers forget that in an English soldier's eye the women and children are always spared so far from hurting them, the troops were seen sharing their rations with them'

The final capture of Jhansi took place in April, 1858 The next objective was Kalpi, whither the Rani of Jhansi and her ally, Tantia Topi, had retired Before Kalpi could be taken, there had to be some severe fighting between that place and Jhansi Tantia Topi was again encountered, and was again decisively defeated, this time with the loss of 600 men and 15 guns The battle was one of the most trying of the whole campaign the British soldiers dropped down in numbers from sunstroke, and even their General himself fell three times from the same cause he rallied himself, however, by sheer strength of will, until victory was won, the doctor had to pour cold water over him, and give him restoratives, to keep him going at all Tantia Topi and the Rani had meanwhile been reinforced by the Nawab of Banda, another rebel nobleman, who apparently had been nursing some grievance against the British Government Sir Hugh Rose was compelled to make forced marches to Kalpi, to prevent their cutting his communications with Sir Colin Campbell One incident that occurred on the way will help to illustrate the spirit that animated all ranks, notwithstanding the hardships incidental from these forced marches during the Indian hot weather At one of the halting-places, the General found a party of sick and wounded lying on the ground in their great coats, with their knapsacks under their heads for a pillow He asked if they had any complaints 'Complaints, sir!' said the doctor in charge, 'they haven't a single thing which they would have in an English hospital in camp, or at home, or in the field, but,' he added, 'they have no complaints but one, and that is that they cannot march with you to-morrow against the enemy' The men, raising their heads from their knapsacks, smiled in assent And so it was with all the soldiers under Sir Hugh Rose's command 'These noble soldiers,' he testified,

'never proffered one complaint They fell in their ranks, struck down by the sun, and exhausted by fatigue, but they would not increase the anxieties of their General or belie their devotion by complaint No matter how great their exhaustion, or how deep their short sleep, they always sprang to my call to arms with the heartiest goodwill' It is no wonder that, with soldiers animated by such a spirit, Sir Hugh Rose was able to pass from one victory to another, without suffering a single reverse or check In the battle that took place almost under the walls of Kalpi, and which preceded its capture, the enemy were again defeated, and the Rani and Tantia Topi were driven into the fortress, only, however, to leave it precipitately again as the British advanced to the attack The severity of the fighting may be estimated from the fact that, before commencing their attack, the rebel Sepoys had taken an oath by the sacred waters of the Jumna river, and had primed themselves with opium After the capture of Kalpi, Sir Hugh Rose issued a general order to his troops in these terms 'You have fought against the strong, and you have protected the rights of the weak and defenceless of foes as well as of friends I have seen you in the heart of the combat preserve and place children out of harm's way This is the discipline of Christian soldiers, and this it is that has brought you triumphant from the shores of Western India to the waters of the Jumna' The capture of this important place completed the plan of the campaign as originally devised, and Lord Canning telegraphed to Sir Hugh Rose 'Your capture of Kalpi has crowned a series of brilliant and uninterrupted successes I thank you and your brave soldiers with all my heart'

Sir Hugh Rose, thinking the campaign over, now applied for the sick leave he so urgently needed, but the end was not yet Another capture yet had to be effected, that of the strong fortress of Gwalior, which had fallen into the hands of the rebels with all its guns The Maharaja Scindia had been on his march to co-operate with Sir Colin Campbell in Rohilcund he had been attacked by Tantia Topi and the Rani of Jhansi, and the whole of his army, with the exception of a few of his immediate bodyguard, had gone over to the enemy The Maharaja

himself, after a brave attempt to get them to return to their allegiance, was fired on by his own gunners, and just managed to get away in safety to Agra As a preliminary step to the capture of the great fortress, Sir Hugh Rose took the cantonments of Morar The Rani of Jhansi received her death-wound in one of the engagements that preceded the final capture of Gwalior She was fighting at the head of her troops, dressed in a red jacket and trousers, and with a white turban on her head, and she was wearing at the time the famous pearl necklace which had formed part of the plunder of Scindia's palace when the rebels seized it tradition had it that this necklace had originally formed part of the Portuguese regalia which had been taken by the Mahrattas hundreds of years before As the Rani lay mortally wounded in her tent, she distributed her ornaments to her troops the whole rebel army mourned her loss, she was only twenty when she died, but yet she had earned the reputation of being the bravest and best military leader of the rebels Her body was burnt with great ceremony by her troops on the field of battle

The Maharaja returned to his capital the day after its capture from the rebels by the British he was overcome with joy at the turn events had taken, and insisted on giving a dinner to Sir Hugh Rose, served by his old servants He was also very anxious to present a medal, with his device, a serpent, engraved on it, to all the officers and men of the Central India Field Force, Lord Canning, who was referred to in the matter, approved, but the Home Government refused its permission

The rebels had now all been dispersed, but it was not till the spring of 1859 that an old associate betrayed the hiding-place of Tantia Topi, he was captured and hanged in April of the same year

The military operations in Central India came practically to an end with the capture of Gwalior What those operations had meant to the force engaged may be realized from the description given by an authority 'In five months the Central India Field Force traversed 1,085 miles, crossed numerous large rivers, took upwards of 150 pieces of artillery, one entrenched camp, two fortified

cities, and two fortresses, all strongly defended, fought sixteen actions, captured twenty forts, and never sustained a check against the most warlike and determined enemy led by the most capable commanders then to be found in any part of India.'

The victorious General received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and was created a Grand Commander of the Bath.

The secret of Sir Hugh Rose's success will be found in the qualities that distinguished him throughout his military career, which have been thus summed up: 'Ever at the post of danger, he never spared himself or others. What he did was always done courageously and thoroughly: his whole career was an example of earnestness and thoroughness, and of unflinching devotion to duty. In India, we are told, the rebel Sepoys could make nothing of the General who routed and destroyed them. His rapid marches and indomitable energy struck terror into their hearts; he had grasped the great principle of Indian warfare: "When your enemy is in the open, go straight at him, and keep him moving; and when behind ramparts, still go at him, and cut off all his chances of retreat when possible: pursue him, escaping or escaped." He realized to the full in his own person Napoleon's ideal of a military commander: he was indeed the head and soul of his army.'

In 1859, Sir Hugh Rose was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army, and on the departure of Sir Colin Campbell, now Lord Clyde, from India in 1860, he received the appointment of Commander-in-Chief in India. His words on receiving his appointment were characteristic of the man: 'I will endeavour to bear with humility my elevation, which I am convinced I owe more to the signal mercy of God than to my own merits. I feel that with His blessing I can do an immense amount of good, but I shall fail in doing what I ought to do, if I give way to anything like feelings of pride.'

When, after holding this appointment for five years, he finally gave up office, he did so to the universal regret of both officers and men of the Indian Army. At a farewell entertainment given to him at Simla, Sir Robert Napier, afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala, voiced the general

opinion about him in the speech he made on the occasion 'Never has the Army of India had a Chief more earnestly solicitous to secure its efficiency than Sir Hugh Rose Never, I believe, has the Army of India been in a more efficient condition than it is at the present moment, never has the Army of India had a Chief whom it would have followed to the field against a foe worthy of it, with fuller confidence of success than the Army would feel under its present Commander-in-Chief'

On his return to England, Sir Hugh Rose was raised to the Peerage as Lord Strathnairn of Strathnairn and Jhansi He was thus greeted by *The Times*, on behalf of the English nation 'We welcome the veteran General home after a career which would have entitled a Roman General to a Triumph'

He was eventually promoted to the rank of Field-Marshal He died suddenly at Paris in 1885

CHAPTER V

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIA UNDER THE CROWN

LORD LAWRENCE, 1811–1879

THE proverb 'The child is father of the man' gives a sufficient reason for commencing the sketch of a man with some details of his boyhood one influence that always tells on the future character of a man is the influence of heredity, by which is meant the influence of a man's ancestry, the characteristics of parents generally descend to their children There is a current saying in England that a boy takes after his mother, and a girl after her father, this is often true, and it is largely due to the fact that as a rule the influence of the mother is all-important on the future career of a man Lawrence's parents both possessed considerable character, and while his religious character was derived from his mother, his taste for a life of action and adventure was derived from his father

His father was by profession a soldier, and his influence upon his two sons was very great, four of these sons served with more or less distinction in India, and two of them with such distinction as marks them out as heroes namely, John Lawrence, the subject of the present sketch, and Henry Lawrence, 'The Hero of Lucknow'

Lawrence's school career extended over a period of eight years A scientific educationalist has observed that the books of a boy's own choice have much to do in determining a boy's character, Lawrence's reading at school was of a more or less desultory character, but his favourite studies were Plutarch's Lives, and this book had much influence for good upon the character of the boy Another influence that is potent in determining a boy's character is his school environment, one of Lawrence's schools was at a place in the North of Ireland, called Londonderry, a place noted for its heroic resistance during a famous siege, the

influence that this school exercised over Lawrence was a life influence Many years afterwards, when he was delivering a public address in India in his capacity as Viceroy, he acknowledged the influence that the scene of his old school had had upon him, he then told his hearers 'how the blood of the old defenders of Derry warmed within him as he fought in India against fearful odds, during the great Mutiny, and nerved him for his work'

When asked what he intended to be when he grew to be a man, he replied 'A soldier I was born, and a soldier I will be' But afterwards, when he found that his parents could not afford it, he relinquished his own wishes out of deference to the wishes of his parents

He finally decided to accept an offer of an East India writership, as the office of a civilian was then called, and thus availed himself of the great opportunity of his life The world-poet Shakespeare has said, 'There is a tide in the affairs of men, which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune'

Such a time now came for Lawrence in his acceptance of the offer of a career in the great Indian Civil Service Lawrence spent two years in the old East Indian College at Haileybury, preparing himself by a course of study for his new life in India This course over, he proceeded to India The voyage to India in those days took several months, whereas now it only takes about two weeks Lawrence took over five months on the voyage, and eventually arrived in India in the year 1830, at the age of nineteen His first station was Calcutta, which in those days was a much less healthy city than it is now Lawrence suffered seriously in health in consequence, so much so, indeed, that he often bitterly regretted having come to India at all, and wished himself back in England again, and he was often heard to say that an offer of an appointment of £100 a year would have taken him straight home History has recorded similar experiences on the part of Clive at Madras What the loss to England would have been had both these men left India during their early days of depression can be hardly realized without Clive, England would, in all human probability, not have gained India, without Lawrence, England would also, in all human probability, not have

regained India, when she was so nearly losing it during the dark days of the great Mutiny

While in Calcutta, Lawrence went through a further course of preparation for his Indian career in the study of the Oriental languages The languages he studied give us a clue to the administration of India in those early days Persian, the language of the Court, Hindi, the language of the people A judicious admixture of office work with camp life was the system adopted by the administrators

The use to which Lawrence put his opportunities, during his first official charge in what was called the Delhi Territory, throws a good light on the work of the District Officer of those days, an extract from a report of his tells us what that work was 'I became well acquainted with the duties of an administrator, both in a large city and in an important agricultural district I came into contact with all classes of the people, high and low I made acquaintance with most of the criminal classes, and understood their habits of life I saw all the different agricultural races of that part of India I learned to understand the peculiarities of the tenure of land, the circumstances of Indian agriculture, canal and well irrigation, as well as the habits, social customs, and leading characteristics of the people, the experience and credit I thus gained stood me in good stead in after years'

These concluding words show that Lawrence recognized that the only royal road to success lay in hard and regular work

The success he achieved in later life was entirely due to this hard work and regular training of his early career in the historic neighbourhood of Delhi From this period of his career also may be dated that sympathy with the agricultural classes of India that was always one of his marked characteristics The agricultural character of the Delhi Territory, and the great age of many of the villages, together with the industrious character of the honest Jat peasantry, all appealed to the sympathies of Lawrence, and all had their effect on his agricultural policy when he eventually became Viceroy of India

The Territory of Delhi was one that had seen great famines, we are told how 'the famine of '17, that is 1817 of the

Hindu calendar,[1] lives in the mouths of the people, and in the village songs Grain sold at the price of pistachio nuts, and wheat at the price of raisins, the trader lived, and the Jat died, the carts remained useless, for the oxen were dead, and the bride went to her husband's house without the due formalities' Other famines occurred while Lawrence was serving there all this was never effaced from his mind, and a favourite saying of his gives the key-note of his policy of settlement it forms a part of the instructions given to an assistant, and such as he always enjoined on all his officials 'Government revenue, of course, must be paid, but do not be hard—the calf gets the milk that is left in the cow' He had a great liking for tent life, as giving him so many opportunities of understanding the character of the classes connected with land: he never lost the liking for these classes that he thus acquired, one great feature of his district tours was his accessibility at all hours to visitors This first official charge gave Lawrence special scope for impressing his own personality on the work of the district, it was a non-regulation district—District Officers of the present day have not the same opportunities for independence of action The system of Lawrence may be briefly described in these words 'Associating with the people in daily intimacy, listening to their petitions, ministering to their sick, sometimes nursing them with his own hands, always ready to listen to anybody, and seeing everything with his own eyes'

In this way the character of Lawrence was formed, and the foundation laid of the eminence to which he rose

This first charge lasted nine years, from 1830 to 1839, an attack of Indian fever then compelled him to take furlough to England, his first period of Indian service was a good augury for the success of his Indian career

Promotion soon followed upon the return of Lawrence from furlough The Viceroy of those days, Lord Hardinge, was a great judge of character, like the celebrated William Pitt, 'he had a keen eye for a man', he had noted Lawrence when he met him for the first time at Delhi, in 1845, he

[1] The Hindu *Lamvat*, or Era, commences in 57 B C The reference is probably to the great famine between the years 1760–1770, some years before the Territory came under British rule

had noted him as the vehement, swift-riding man, with the honest and eager face, careless of dress and appearance, who seemed never to count work too hard, or to think any duty too little to be done with his own hand, and had marked him out for his purpose, when the opportunity came That opportunity came when Lord Hardinge wanted a man to administer the country recently won from the Sikhs, situated between the rivers Beas and Sutlej , the words with which Lord Hardinge appointed him were brief and to the point 'Send me up John Lawrence' The aptness of this choice was soon to be illustrated , when the second Sikh War broke out, Lawrence was suddenly called upon to meet a great crisis that arose owing to the hostile attitude assumed by several of the old chieftains in his administrative charge , many of them had become discontented because of the policy he had adopted of treating as simple nobles, and not as ruling Rajas, those whom the former Sikh rulers had so treated, and of regarding those chiefs only as ruling chiefs whom the Sikhs had also so regarded This had all been in keeping with his policy of making the people generally contented his own words in connexion therewith are characteristic of the man —

'It is a mistake to think that by making Rajas and chiefs powerful you attach the country, one lakh given in reduction of assessments and making people comfortable and happy in their homes is better than three lakhs given to Rajas'

The aggrieved chiefs then attempted to revolt on the outbreak of the second Sikh War, and it was this crisis that Lawrence met with his usual promptness of action wherever rebellion raised its head, Lawrence and his officers, by a series of hasty marches, were there beforehand, ready to grapple with the insurgents At every halting-place the headmen of the villages were assembled in scores, and a sword and a pen were placed before them to select by which instrument they wished to be ruled, and invariably, we are told, the pen was grasped with enthusiasm This historic incident is commemorated in the statue of Lawrence at Lahore, where he is represented as offering the pen or the sword Lawrence's policy was justified by the event , the people remained contented and did not rise in rebellion , this proved that what had been a grievance to the Rajas was

a blessing to the people, for the hand of the old Sikh Rajas had been very heavy on the property and lives of men

With the close of the second Sikh War, Lawrence's next great opportunity came The Viceroy at this period was Lord Dalhousie, and, having first appointed Lawrence as one of three administrators, to administer the new Province for the preliminary work of pacification, he soon appointed him as sole administrator for the great task of organization Thus Lawrence became Chief Commissioner of the Punjab His new charge gave him an opportunity of showing the stuff he was made of, and his own words are a key-note to his administration 'I should like to fix my own impress on the administration I desire earnestly to show what a man bred and educated as a civilian can do in a new country', and he well succeeded in leaving the impress of his master-mind on the Province, and in impressing his officers, all of whom were picked men, young and enthusiastic, with his own individuality In a speech the German Emperor once delivered, after referring to the Founder of the Christian religion as 'the most personal personality who ever walked on earth amongst men', he turned round to his sons, who were present, and said to them 'And you too must each strive to do his best to become a personality, and to grow up with your tasks' And so Lawrence grew up with his tasks, and so he became a personality, and during his connexion with the new Punjab Province he became still more of a personality than he had been even before He and his officers certainly had great advantages, for, the Province being a newly acquired one, the system of administration was what is called a non-regulation system, and the officers were therefore untrammelled by routine and regulations promptness of action and of decision were the key-notes of the system, and thus individuality was fostered There were regulations and rules, of course, but the principle underlying the whole system was the spirit, and not the letter, of the regulations This has been defined to be of the essence of a true despotism, and the rule of the British Government has been sometimes, and not altogether incorrectly, styled, 'A despotism tempered by benevolence' Under this system, moreover, each officer had just so much of a charge given him as he

could efficiently manage, and so as to get a complete knowledge of the people and become personally acquainted with all the men of mark and influence each officer, further, had undivided responsibility, which, as a well-known writer shows, in an essay on 'Organization in Daily Life', is of the very essence of organization, each officer, moreover, united in himself the functions of judge, revenue officer, and magistrate, and, further, native customs and institutions formed the basis of the simple laws and procedure followed The whole system, in a word, may be described as personal government based on law and order The natural effect of such a system was that wrongs, when ascertained, were speedily redressed, and every man in the country knew whom to go to if he had a grievance Lawrence tolerated no ignorance or incompetence in his officers Every man was required to know his work and to do it, and to see that the men under him knew and did it too The work was not light work, each officer was expected to have his finger, as it were, on the pulse of the whole district, and to be ready to go anywhere at a moment's notice His motto had to be that of the famous British artillery, 'Ubique,' to be ready to go anywhere and everywhere where duty calls This naturally necessitated the upkeep of a good stable That Lawrence and his officers could ride, and ride well, is proved by a story told of Sir Charles Napier, the Military Commander in the Punjab, and of Lawrence, the Civilian Ruler Lawrence was anxious to know where Napier wanted his new cantonments placed, that he might get the roads constructed, but he never could get any answer out of Napier One day Lawrence and his officers were out riding, when they met Napier and his officers, Lawrence asked Napier point-blank where he wished the new-cantonments to be 'Come along,' said Napier, 'and I will show you', he then set off with his officers at full gallop across country, with Lawrence and his officers at full gallop behind him, finding they were all as good horsemen as himself and his officers, he at last suddenly pulled up in the middle of an open plain, and said 'Here is the place for the cantonments' The open plain selected became the site of the Mian-Mir Cantonments

The unwritten law that guided Lawrence and his officers in the administration of the Punjab was, to see things with their own eyes, to do things with their own hands, and to inquire into things for themselves The result was knowledge on both sides, knowledge of their officers on the part of the people, and knowledge of the people on the part of their officers The necessary corollary was the dispelling of prejudices and ignorance, two of the main causes of discontent, the final result was contentment, the one thing necessary in a newly acquired province It was a contentment that stood the test of the day of trial that came a few years later in the great Sepoy Mutiny And the whole secret lay in the spirit that animated all the officers of the administration, from the Chief Commissioner, Lawrence himself, downwards to the junior officers, a spirit that may be expressed in the words of the old Roman writer 'Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto,' which put into plain English means 'I am a man, I consider nothing relating to man as outside my sphere of interest' Shakespeare has expressed the same idea in his words, 'One touch of nature makes the whole world kin' There was in them that required touch of nature that caused them to keep in touch with their people, in other words, 'They loved the people, they lived among the people, and for the people' An illustration of this spirit is shown in the famous Proclamation issued by John Lawrence in the earlier days of his administration as Commissioner of the Southern Districts, when there were fears of a rising of the people at the time of the second Sikh War, 'What is your injury, I consider mine, what is gain to you, I consider my gain, return to me as children who have committed a fault return to their fathers, and your faults will be forgiven you'

The dignity of knighthood crowned this period of Lawrence's career, and formed his personal reward The time covered by this period of service was some fifteen years, from 1842–1857

This period of peaceful administration came to an abrupt close with the sudden outbreak of the Mutiny

The Mutiny was not an altogether unexpected event, but every one was unprepared for the actual outbreak one

very curious feature of the Indian Mutiny may be noted here it was that of a practically Hindu army striking for the restoration of a Muhammadan monarchy, a thing no one had ever dreamed of Various causes have been given for the Mutiny Lawrence's own idea was that it originated entirely in the army fearing for the destruction of their caste owing to the issue of the famous greased cartridges But a variety of other causes were really at work, as is proved by the fact that some of the populace also rose However, these causes need not be dealt with in this sketch, as they have been sufficiently dealt with elsewhere Lawrence, as usual, was prompt to recognize the crisis, and his first step was to secure the Punjab by disarming all disaffected troops He also secured the great arsenals and the artillery , he sent out all over the country patrols of picked men to crush at once any signs of disaffection , his motto was 'Obsta Principiis', 'Check the first beginnings' But what had a specially good effect on the peace of the Province was the maintenance of an attitude of calm and cool self-reliance on the part of the handful of English officials in the Province The bold front shown by Lawrence at Peshawar in disarming the disaffected Sepoys there had an excellent effect on the minds of the people , an anecdote is told in connexion with Peshawar which is characteristic , an old Muhammadan remarked 'If Peshawar holds firm, it is well , otherwise'—and he concluded by rolling up the skirt of his muslin robe significantly between his finger and his thumb The attitude of the Banias in the wealthy cities of Lahore and Amritsar was an index to the severity of the crisis, and marked the fact that all men looked to the capture of Delhi as the one thing necessary before the Mutiny could be crushed , the Banias refused to lend money till Delhi had fallen Lawrence succeeded in enlisting on his side the active services of all the great ruling chiefs, and all, including also the petty chiefs, with two exceptions, nobly responded to the call The Raja of Jhind openly declared at once that he should side with the British, under whom he had lived happily for fifty years This loyal attitude received its due recognition from the Viceroy, Lord Canning, at a great Darbar held at Lahore after the

suppression of the Mutiny 'In other parts of India,' he said, 'I have received many distinguished chiefs of ancient lineage, who have proved themselves faithful feudatories of the Crown, and many of lower degree who have been dutiful subjects in the midst of great discouragements and dangers But in the Punjab I find a whole nation of brave and loyal men'

Lawrence recognized the all-importance of the recapture of Delhi, and he devoted all his energies to the dispatch of all available troops and transport to Delhi, and the magnificent material of the reinforcements sent to Delhi by Lawrence excited the admiration of all One regiment was the crack regiment of the Guides, a regiment originally consisting of sportsmen of all nations wearing their own clothes The choice of this regiment was justified, it was in action during practically the whole period of the siege of Delhi, a period covering four months, and out of 800 men who went to Delhi only 250 men returned alive Another famous corps was the corps of Mazhabi Sikhs, they were descendants of a body of sweepers whom Guru Govind sent to Delhi to fetch the body of his martyred father, and whom he received into the Sikh Khalsa for their daring courage Lawrence also sent all available European troops, the Punjab was thus practically denuded of its best troops, and that it remained loyal was the best proof of the success of Lawrence's methods of administration, and of the contentment thus created

The eventual success of the British at Delhi was very largely due to the work of the reinforcements sent by Lawrence What the work that fell on the troops at Delhi was may be gauged by the fact that over thirty actual battles were fought, and the troops had constantly to be on the watch against night attacks, so that it was truly said of the soldiers at Delhi that they were soldiers by day, sentinels by night

The effect of the capture of Delhi by the British was instantaneous, and was felt as far as Kabul As one illustration of the calm after the storm, may be noted the fact that, within three months after the fall of Delhi, seven hundred new village schools were founded in the Punjab The attitude of Sir John Lawrence, when once the Mutiny

had been quelled, was very different from his attitude while it was in progress, what his motto was when rebellion was to be feared has been recorded, 'Use all possible severity, only check the beginnings' The words of one of his officers expresses his attitude well 'The sooner blood be let, the less of it will suffice' But, when rebellion had once been crushed, then he was all for justice and mercy, and he opposed all cries for vengeance, an illustration of this is given in the case of the great Mosque of Delhi, he refused to consider any idea of its destruction, as suggested He was for stern justice on all ringleaders and on all murderers, but for mercy for all others

'Mercy,' he said, 'is demanded by the mercy which God has shown us There is a Judge over both them and us Inasmuch as we have been preserved from impending destruction by His mercy alone, we should be merciful to others, reflecting that, if He were to be extreme to mark what we have done, and still do, amiss, we should forfeit that protection from on high which alone maintains us in India'

Delhi was eventually placed in his charge, it had been incorporated in the Punjab, and his merciful administration soon restored confidence to the city The closing scene of the Mutiny was the reading out of the Queen's Proclamation in the great Bazaar of the city

Sir John Lawrence was not slow to mark his appreciation of the work his officers had done, and his generous recognition was all the more appreciated by them because of his natural characteristic to be sparing of praise, a characteristic not uncommon with Englishmen, and not always intelligible to the average Oriental, who loves to bask in the sunshine of favour

As regards Lawrence's own rewards, the Viceroy fully recognized his work in saving India for England 'Through him Delhi fell' were the Viceroy's words The Government showered honours upon him, and the nation acclaimed him The feelings of Lawrence himself are expressed in his own words 'It is owing to an overruling Providence, and to that alone, that a single Englishman was left alive in the Punjab'

Many of his friends were disappointed that he did not

receive the higher honour of being created a Peer of the Realm, but this disappointment was not shared by Lawrence himself he had something in him of the mind of the old Stoic philosopher, when rewards were in question The story is told how on one occasion one of Cato's friends visited the Hall of Worthies, the Valhalla of Rome, where statues of Rome's great men were, and looked in vain for a statue of Cato, on his return he told Cato this, Cato's answer was 'I had much rather my friends would ask, "Where is Cato?" than be able to say, "Here is Cato"'

Upon the Punjab being made into a Lieutenant-Governorship, in the year 1859, Lawrence was appointed Lieutenant-Governor, but he proceeded home on furlough almost immediately, during his stay at home he was given a seat in the India Council, and remained there till the offer came to him of the appointment of Viceroy of India The news of his appointment was received with a universal acclaim of approval, all felt that he was the right man in the right place His own simple humility was illustrated by his remark, when the announcement was made to him 'The Governor-Generalship is too good a post for a fellow like me' One of the reasons that pointed to the special fitness of Lawrence for the exalted office of Viceroy was, that it was generally felt that he was the only man who could effectively carry on the hard task that lay before the Viceroy, the task of pacifying the people and healing the wounds caused by the Mutiny and its suppression His sympathies with the people were well known, and his command of the vernacular was such as no Englishman of his time possessed in an equal degree How hard that task was he himself fully appreciated, as his own words show 'It is a task which the bravest and the best may shrink from, it is one in which a great man may break his heart, and lose his life, and which, even should he, by God's help, accomplish it, will never be appreciated' He had other difficulties than those of administration to contend with, difficulties which were likely to arise from his own countrymen rather than from the people of India, and of a more or less personal character The history of British rule in India bears abundant testimony to the fact that England always sends of her best and noblest sons to administer her Empire

beyond the seas Lawrence was one of her best and noblest sons in work and character, but not a member of one of her noblest families in a social sense, he did not belong to the great aristocratic families of England to which most of India's Viceroys do belong, he was a commoner, as the saying is, and he remained a commoner throughout his Viceroyalty The history of British India shows, moreover, that most men sent out from England to rule India have generally had a distinguished career in their own country before coming to India, Lawrence had certainly had a most distinguished career, but it had been in India as a civilian, he had risen from the ranks of the Civil Service of India, and many members of that service, he anticipated, might not unnaturally regard him as only *primus inter pares*, first only among his equals

While, however, recognizing the difficulties of the task before him, he at the same time recognized the great opportunities for good that the appointment would bring him, and he therefore accepted it, and duly landed in Calcutta in 1864

Lawrence's career as Viceroy was a more or less peaceful and uneventful one, he had already, when he became Viceroy, been connected with India in one capacity or another for a period of thirty-four years, his chief work, therefore, lay behind him, and what has been here recorded of that great work has shown clearly enough the stuff he was made of, his reputation was already made, therefore, when he became Viceroy, and he could only add fresh lustre to a great reputation One of the chief features of his administration was the settlement of difficult frontier questions on both the North-Western and North-Eastern Frontiers, he had special influence with the then Amir of Afghanistan, the great Dost Mahomed, who from having been, as it has been well said, 'by turns the rejected friend, the enforced enemy, the honourable prisoner, the vindictive assailant, of the English in India,' had, by the tactful treatment of Lawrence, become the firm ally of the English Russia recognized what this alliance meant to her the Russian papers of the day, when the Amir, Shir Ali, came to meet Lord Mayo at Ambala in 1869, wrote 'The first stone of the wall was laid which the Anglo-Indian Government is hasten-

ing to build across the path of the Russians in Central Asia ' The policy of Lawrence in dealing with the frontier tribes may be expressed in the words of the poet —

> By slow prudence to make mild
> A rugged people, and, through soft degrees,
> Subdue them to the useful and the good.

This policy was eventually successful One question that attracted the attention of Lawrence was the question of the training and education of young chiefs, a question that Lord Mayo, who afterwards succeeded him as Viceroy, gave effect to , Lawrence himself went no further than advice , he earnestly pressed native rulers to have their sons, and their daughters too, carefully trained , at a great Darbar at Lahore he said to the assembled chiefs 'I urge you to instruct your sons, and even your daughters The art of governing wisely and well is a difficult one, which is only to be attained by much thought and care and labour , of all fame that great men may acquire, that alone is worth having which is accorded to a just and a beneficent ruler The names of conquerors and heroes are forgotten, but those of virtuous and wise chiefs live for ever '

Perhaps the chief interest of the administration of Lawrence as Viceroy centres round landed estates he regarded as of special importance the interests of the peasantry and tenantry, rather than of the proprietors, whose rights and interests he considered sufficiently conserved as a general rule, though at the same time he dealt with these rights impartially and justly.

It has often been said that what the people of India want is to be let alone, and there are many men who say that the right policy to pursue with Orientals is one dictated by expediency only A policy of *laisser-faire,* or, as an old proverb has it, 'Let sleeping dogs lie,' is the one best suited to India, they say Lawrence, on the other hand, held that the real standard of all Government action in India should be 'the conscience of England ', as he himself expressed it, 'In doing the best we can for the people, we are bound by our conscience and not by theirs ' Such a view entailed a policy of progressive action. In

pursuance of such a policy, therefore, Lawrence took up the cause of the peasantry and the tenantry, both of the Punjab and of Oudh He recognized the value to the Empire of a prosperous and contented peasantry , his own ideal, as given in his own words, was that of 'a country thickly cultivated by a fat, contented yeomanry, each riding his own horse, sitting under his own fig-tree, and enjoying his rude family comforts '

He held with the poet Goldsmith

> Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates and men decay
> Princes and lords may flourish or may fade,
> A breath can make them, as a breath has made ,
> But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
> When once destroyed can never be supplied

The outcome of his policy in this direction was the Punjab Tenancy Act and the Oudh Rent Bill He also prepared the way for the improvement of the condition of the ryots in Bengal, which was afterwards effected in the Bengal Tenancy Act Other matters that occupied his attention were irrigation and the improvement of the means of communication, both being matters which were pressed upon his attention by the great famine of Orissa, which occurred during his Viceroyalty At no time more than during the progress of a famine does the value of water become more prominent A great Finance Minister of India has well and truly said 'Water in India is more than gold, it is life ' The creation of the Department of Irrigation was due to the initiative of Lawrence The condition of Orissa, too, during the famine, showed him the all-importance of the improvement of communications It was said of Orissa and its inhabitants at this time 'The people, shut up in a narrow province between pathless jungles and an impracticable sea, were in the condition of passengers in a ship without provisions ' There was a great extension also of railways, canals, and good roads, due to his far-seeing initiative Enough has now been said of Lawrence's administration as Viceroy, and though all that has been said throughout has been showing his character, this sketch may well be concluded with a picture of

ERRATUM

Page 99, lines 13, 14 *For* who afterwards became his biographer, *read* as his biographer has recorded

Oswell, Vol I

Lawrence, no longer as an administrator and a ruler, but as a man

The motto on the tomb of John Lawrence, where he lies in Westminster Abbey, amidst England's heroes and great men, is 'Be Ready' The motto on the tomb of his great brother, Henry, who lies in the quiet cemetery near the site of the old Residency at Lucknow, where he met with the death of a hero, is, 'Here lies a man who tried to do his duty' These were the guiding principles of Lawrence's life as a man Readiness to undertake any responsibilities imposed upon him, and a stern determination to do his duty under all circumstances

His own words to his son-in-law, who afterwards became his biographer, show us this side of his character 'It was a proud moment to me when I walked up the steps of Government House feeling that, without political influence or interest, I had been chosen to fill the highest office under the Crown, the Viceroyalty of the Queen But it will be a happier moment to me when I walk down the steps with the feeling that I have tried to do my duty'

These were his leading characteristics Another, and one which often marks the greatest of men, was simplicity he bore with simplicity and modesty the honours that were showered upon him when he gave up the Viceroyalty and was created a Peer of the Realm

The poet's words may well be applied to him —

> As the greatest only are,
> In his simplicity sublime

He had the powers for work that have characterized so many of India's great Viceroys, and notably Lord Mayo 'I work like any old buffalo,' he remarked on one occasion He liked brevity in all his official correspondence, recognizing with the old Roman poet, 'Ars longa, vita brevis,' 'Art is long, life is short' What his attitude towards religion was, and how religion may be said to have permeated all his work, has already been referred to his sense of duty was but the practical outcome of his deeply religious feelings, with him, as with the great English poet, duty was but the 'stern daughter of the voice of God', the performance of duty being the necessary outcome of the dictates of conscience

The present President of the United States of America, President Roosevelt, some time back published a little book styled *The Strenuous Life* It has been sufficiently shown that the life of Lord Lawrence was in all respects a strenuous life, and this sketch may well conclude with his motto, itself the key-note of that strenuous life,

'BE READY'

CHAPTER VI

THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE QUEEN'S RULE IN INDIA

Lord Mayo, 1822–1872

Most of the Viceroys sent out to govern India on behalf of the Sovereign arrive in India at a mature age, by which time they have usually distinguished themselves in one capacity or another, and have become men of mark, before the opportunity comes to them to make themselves, if that is possible, a still greater name

Lord Mayo was no exception to the rule if, therefore, his great character and qualities are to be estimated aright, some account must be given of his earlier career, before he took up the appointment of Governor-General of India at the mature age of forty-six

Lord Mayo was fortunate in his home training the sympathetic interests of his parents made it a complete success The close companionship with parents which a home training naturally presupposes, and which alone gives it its full value, impressed the individuality of both his father and mother on the boy , while to his father's companionship he owed that high standard of duty which characterized him throughout his life, and that physical strength and robustness which nothing seemed to tire, and which was the result of systematic athletic training, to his mother's companionship he owed his great capacity for work, and that conscientiousness in the discharge of the minutest details of work which was so marked a feature of his official career, both in England and India, a conscientiousness which was very largely the result of the right principles which he had imbibed in the religious atmosphere of his home 'Plain living and high thinking' may be said to have marked the daily life of the family The importance on the after career of the man of such a home training in his boyhood must have been incalculable Early

impressions are very rarely, if ever, effaced An old philosopher, realizing the truth of this, is reported to have once said 'Give me a boy to train from the age of nine to twelve, and I don't care who has the training of him afterwards' Lord Mayo's own experience of what he owed to his parents, and of his own happy boyhood, had its natural effect when he himself in his turn became a father he always treated his children as his companions and his allies, and he found many a solace amidst the cares and disappointments of public life in their companionship He well knew that only by such a companionship can a father hope to gauge correctly the character of his children He always advised his sons while at school to mix generally with all the boys of their school, and not to make friendships with only one or two, only so, he knew, was it possible to gain that one great advantage that is to be got from the discipline of school, a knowledge of character, an acquisition so useful in after life when a man has to deal with other men, and when it may become necessary for him either to work with or in opposition to them

Lord Mayo was sent on a tour abroad immediately after leaving school Travel is usually regarded as the coping-stone of a boy's education, and is usually postponed until after he has been to the University, in Lord Mayo's case it preceded his University career, but it was by no means a period of idleness on the contrary, special studies in such subjects as languages, music, and painting took up a good deal of his time while he was travelling on the Continent He was also given the further opportunity of associating with men and women of the world All this had the effect it was intended to have, by the time that he returned to England at the age of nineteen, he was no longer a boy, he had become a man On his return from his continental tour he proceeded to the University

Not all men who go to the University go there with the object of preparing themselves for a profession some are attracted by the social advantages that accompany a University life, more especially at the older Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, with their residential system Lord Mayo did not remain long at the University, he left it at the age of twenty-one, after taking his degree, in order to

enter upon the life of an English country gentleman He took up his duties in this capacity with that thoroughness that marked all that he set his hand to He was perfectly content to settle down quietly and live amongst his tenantry The views that he held on the subject of the relations that should exist between landlords and their tenants showed him to have been a liberal-minded landlord

He had a very keen sense of the responsibilities and duties of a landed proprietor to the care and attention which he paid to the whole subject while thus personally managing his own estates was doubtless due the thoroughness with which he afterwards tackled the many problems which were presented for his solution in the same field when he became Viceroy of India The breeding of horses and cattle occupied much of his attention at this period of his career , another very favourite occupation was the planting of trees But what most engrossed his attention was the subject of field sports, a subject closely connected with every country gentleman's life in the British Isles He himself was a keen hunter and sportsman generally His estates lay in Ireland he knew every inch of the country he hunted over, and was one of the hardest riders in that country of hard-riding men As a Master of Fox hounds he thoroughly identified himself with the people thus he laid the foundations of that sympathy with his surroundings which made him feel himself at home wherever he was, whether in Ireland or in India Life in the country has many advantages, though they are not always appreciated by those who are called on to live there throughout the year To Lord Mayo perhaps its special advantage was that it kept his nature sweet and wholesome, and helped to keep permanent within him that innate geniality and kindliness that always distinguished him, and which made him so popular with all classes throughout his life

It is the ambition of most country gentlemen of means and leisure to serve their country in Parliament , an opportunity of satisfying this ambition came to Lord Mayo at the early age of twenty-six He had only recently written a book on his travels in Russia it was marked by an intimate acquaintance with the condition of the cultivators of the soil in that country this book had attracted public

attention He had also distinguished himself by his strenuous labours on behalf of the famine-stricken peasantry of Ireland during the prevalence of a great famine

His observation of men and affairs in Russia, where he found the peasantry, who were naturally the most loyal and patriotic of all classes in Russia, treated as mere slaves, and considered fit only to be repressed, taught him many valuable lessons which he was afterwards to apply in his work of government in India his determined efforts to unite all classes, and to make all feel that they were members of one corporate community, and that no classes were to be recognized as outside it, as the Russian peasants appeared to him to be, were largely the result of lessons so learnt

He soon made himself a name in Parliament In his criticism of public affairs he wisely refrained from wandering over a wide field of criticism, and thereby lessening its value, but confined his attention to those matters he knew well, matters which he had most at heart, and indeed thoroughly understood, especially Irish affairs Thus he steadily stored up experience, and obtained that reputation for wisdom and judgement which eventually caused him to be recognized as the right man for the position, when the Government found themselves in need of a Chief Secretary for Ireland With this high appointment he felt that his work had received full recognition, and that he was now on the high road to honour and distinction

His apparent youth, for he was only thirty when he was appointed, was to be no bar to a most successful period of office The wisdom of the choice made by Government was justified by results, thus it came about that he was three times Chief Secretary within the period of twenty-one years that practically covered his Parliamentary career

Devotion to Ireland and to Irish affairs marked his conduct of the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland, other great qualities of head and heart there were in addition, which were all factors in the success which he achieved The key-note of his policy was struck in the remark he made when he was first appointed 'I am a new hand, but I am not afraid of the work' Courage in facing his responsibilities, no matter how great they were, marked him out as essentially a strong man his sympathy with his sur-

roundings, a quality which has already been referred to, and which was afterwards destined to be so potent a factor in his successful administration of India, was another quality in him making for success in Ireland Moreover he possessed in an eminent degree such valuable qualities as simplicity, straightforwardness, and good humour Presence of mind and coolness in the face of great dangers, combined with promptness of decision in meeting great emergencies, were also some of his characteristics Further, he possessed an infinite capacity for taking pains no matter, however minute, ever escaped his attention 'He had the very finest qualities,' it was said of him, 'as the chief of a great office early in his habits, regular in his work, and unceasing in industry, he set a great example he knew the secret of getting out of everybody the maximum of work which each might be capable of' One incident will serve to illustrate this great capacity for work, and his conscientiousness in its performance He had on one occasion a great speech to prepare to read in Parliament on the state of Ireland after he had written his speech, which itself took him many days, he spent twelve consecutive hours in checking his materials and figures, and, according to his custom while thus engaged, ate nothing the whole time

But all these qualities combined would not have enabled him to attain to the degree of success he did attain to, had they been unaccompanied by the most valuable quality of all that an administrator can possess, the faculty of conciliation , this faculty he possessed in a pre-eminent degree

With this conspicuous success before them, it is no wonder that when it became necessary to appoint a Viceroy of India in the place of Lord Lawrence, who was vacating office, the choice of the Government should have fallen upon Lord Mayo

Mr Disraeli, who was at this time head of the Government, thus expressed the sentiments that had actuated the Government in making the appointment 'Upon Lord Mayo, for his sagacity, for his judgement, for his fine temper, and for his knowledge of men, Her Majesty has been pleased to confer the office of Viceroy of India I believe that he

will earn a reputation that his country will honour, and that he has before him a career that will equal that of the most eminent Governors-General who have preceded him'

As in Ireland, so in India, devotion to duty was to be the key-note of Lord Mayo's career The address he delivered at a public meeting just before he sailed for India marks the spirit in which he entered upon his responsible office 'Splendid as will be the post, and difficult as will be my duties, I go forth in full confidence and hope that God will give me such strength and wisdom as will enable me to direct the Government of India in the interests and for the well-being of the millions committed to our care In the performance of the great task I ask for no favour Let me be judged according to my acts And I know that efforts honestly made for the maintenance of our national honour, for the spread of civilization, and the preservation of peace, will always command the sympathy and support of my countrymen'

The great literatures of the East are not wanting in recognizing the praise and honour due to rulers whose sole thought is the welfare of their subjects One of India's most famous Sanscrit dramatists has voiced this feeling —

Honour to him who labours night and day
For the world's weal, forgetful of his own
Like some tall tree which with its leafy shade
Refreshing rest affords to weary men,
But with its crown endures the solar beams

The lesson they teach is that if a ruler is to win the hearts of his subjects, and so obtain from them that loyal obedience which alone will make his rule a success, he must be prepared to serve as well as to command This was to be the secret of the successful administration of Lord Mayo in India, he was the servant as well as the ruler of his people

With the thoroughness that marked all that he undertook, Lord Mayo made full use of the voyage to India to store up facts that might be of use to him in his administration, and which might conduce to the welfare of the country he had been called upon to govern Before he assumed the reins of government at Calcutta he paid short visits to

Bombay and Madras, in order that he might acquaint himself with the problems of government on the spot

The work of the Viceroy of India is not light apart from his responsibilities as head of the Government, a vast variety of personal duties also devolves upon him The routine of office work alone involves immense labour, and itself takes up a vast amount of time , all day long boxes of papers are pouring into his office from each of the great departments of State The Viceroy himself is also the head of one or more important departments Lord Mayo, for instance, held in his own hands not only the Foreign Department, which is the special province of all Viceroys, but the Public Works Department as well all this meant so much additional work There is also the daily conference with one or more of the Chief Secretaries of departments, as well as the weekly meetings of the Executive and Legislative Councils all the business of Government is brought before these two Councils, and the Viceroy himself, as a general rule, presides over their deliberations

Besides this routine of office work, there is always a great amount of ceremonial business to be got through, more especially when the Viceroy is at the capital of the Empire, as he invariably is during some portion of the cold weather Visits have to be arranged for important chiefs and other personages, and return visits made, all entailing much state ceremony

There is also a good deal of business of an informal kind, such as good feeling or good nature might dictate to a Viceroy , this will usually include the distribution of prizes at colleges or schools, the annual address at Convocation of the University, the unveiling of statues, and much minor ceremonial Another very important branch of a Viceroy's duties is of a social character, as pertains to his exalted position as the representative of his Sovereign , this portion of his duties was more than fulfilled by Lord Mayo, who was noted for the magnificence of his hospitality to all ranks, and all classes and races alike He had the happy knack of being able to throw off all business cares as he entered the guest-chamber, and he charmed all who enjoyed his hospitality, Europeans and Indians alike, by his kindliness and joyousness, and by the entire absence

of all officialism The ease of conscious strength, indeed, characterized the performance of all his duties, whether official, ceremonial, or social, the charm of a great mind and a great character shone most conspicuously at his great and splendid entertainments It was truly said of him that his noble presence, the splendour of his hospitality, and his magnificence of life seemed in him only a natural complement of rare administrative powers A famous novel of the day is supposed to have had Lord Mayo in view in the picture it presented of the ideal Viceroy

The author of a well-known essay entitled *Organization in Daily Life*, has shown how business may be most efficiently carried on with the least expenditure of time and energy by means of a properly organized system Lord Mayo knew by his previous experience that this was the secret of the quick dispatch of business it might be described as a strict economy of time His whole day was very carefully mapped out beforehand, each day and each hour of the day, indeed, had its own appointed duties He invariably rose at daybreak, and at once commenced work, working generally, with short intervals for meals, till dark, the only recreation he then allowed himself was a hard gallop before dinner Very often he worked far on into the night as well with all this mass of work, however, he never missed his half-hour, snatched while he was dressing for dinner, with his younger children, telling them fables and stories All that he did, indeed, was marked by a strong sense of responsibility Duty, that 'stern daughter of the voice of God', as a poet sings of it, was his guiding star

Enough has been said to show the immense range over which a Viceroy's duties extend, and the qualities that are required of him, if these duties are to be performed successfully

Lord Mayo's policy towards the great chiefs and princes of India forms by no means the least interesting feature of his administration

A great change in the attitude of the Government of India towards the feudatory states took place after the events of the Mutiny, that crisis had proved conclusively that the great body of the feudatories were loyal, and

the Government of India had determined to bring them into more intimate relations with itself than had hitherto been the case It had devolved upon Lord Canning to initiate the new departure it was now Lord Mayo's pleasant task to carry it on this his conciliatory nature well fitted him to do At a great Darbar which he held in Rajputana, he explained to the assembled chiefs how this new policy meant the upholding and maintaining in all their customary rights and privileges, of the ancient houses of nobility, at the same time he took care to impress upon them that it also involved on their part co-operation with the Government in making it a success It was a great speech, and a memorable one 'Be assured,' he said, 'that we ask you to do all this for no other but your own benefit if we wished you to remain weak, we should say to you, "Be poor, and ignorant, and disorderly" It is because we wish you to be strong that we desire to see you rich, instructed, and well governed It is for such objects that the servants of the Queen rule in India, and Providence will ever sustain those rulers who govern for the people's good' In these concluding words he not only struck the key-note of his own rule, but at the same time showed what should be the guiding principle in the conduct of all, whether they were rulers of states or great landholders, who had people dependent on them Power, he thus impressed upon his audience, was not given for the selfish amusement or pleasure of princes The assembled notables fully understood that, put into plain language, his advice to each of them was practically this 'If you wish to be a great man at my court, govern well at home Be just and merciful to your people We do not ask you whether you come to us with full hands, but whether you come with clean hands No presents that you can bring will buy the British favour No display which you may make will raise your dignity in our eyes, no cringing or flattery will gain my friendship we estimate you not by the splendour of your offerings to us, nor by the pomp of your retinue here, but by your conduct to your own people at home' And by his attitude to them all, according to their appreciation of his kindly advice, he showed them that he meant what he said While dealing firmly with all

who failed to co-operate with the Government in good administration, he cultivated the friendship of all who, by loyally carrying out what they knew to be his wishes on the subject, showed that they were deserving of his friendship The result of this kindly and conciliatory attitude of his was soon apparent in the intimate personal friendship that many of the wiser chiefs and feudatories enjoyed with him, amongst these was the late Begum of Bhopal, one of the famous female rulers that India has from time to time produced

Lord Mayo did not content himself with dealing with the older generation of feudatory chiefs he went further, and to the root of the whole matter, by making arrangements for the training in right principles of thought and conduct of the younger members of the Indian aristocracy generally, whether they were wards of Government or the sons and relatives of the chiefs and great landed proprietors

In connexion with the treatment of minors and wards, there were two points that he laid special stress on in the first place, provision should be made for a good local administration for the State, and, in the second place, such an education should be provided as should train the young prince in English rather than in Indian ideas of his duties and responsibilities Minors who would succeed to the government of the more important feudatory states should moreover, he thought, be placed under the care of special English guardians and tutors, while colleges and schools should be established, where minors from the less important states, and the sons and the near relatives of the chiefs and nobles generally, might be educated

The training given at these institutions was intended to correspond as closely as the different conditions would allow of to that imparted at the great English public school of Eton A book on Eton and some of its methods has recently appeared it contains an extract from the evidence of James Hope Scott, as Counsel before the House of Lords, which will serve to illustrate what the essence of that training is 'Who ever ventured to say there was any other school like Eton? The English character made it, and in return it makes the English character it makes, my Lords,

the English gentleman, I will venture to say, as well as any institution that can be produced for the purpose'

Similarly, it has always been regarded as one of the principal ends that these Indian institutions should have in view, that their alumni should be recognized as Indian gentlemen, possessing those qualities that form the connotation of the term gentleman, not the least important of which is manliness

The first outcome of this new departure was the establishment of a college of this type at Rajkot, in Kathiawar, on the west of India This college was fortunate in securing as its first principal, and for the long period of twenty-five years, the late Mr Chester Macnaghten A book he wrote, entitled *Serious Thoughts on Common Subjects*, serves to illustrate one part of his system This book contains a series of lectures that he delivered to his senior pupils it was the outcome of his earnest desire, without in any way transgressing the rules of religious neutrality prescribed by Government for its officers in matters of religion, to bring moral influence to bear in training the character of its charges

The Mayo College at Ajmir, in Rajputana, is the most important of these institutions at the present day, and is named after Lord Mayo himself

In thus inaugurating his beneficent policy of education for the members of the aristocracy of India, Lord Mayo was influenced by various considerations, all had their bearing, however, upon fitting them for their future duties and responsibilities as rulers and administrators, and upon bringing them into closer relations with the Government and its responsible head He fully realized the benefits that would accrue to the young princes and nobles from the opportunity thus created for them of associating on equal terms with those in their own rank of life, and with Englishmen of position and character, from whom they might imbibe English ideas of physical and moral training

The results of Lord Mayo's policy in this direction have on the whole proved it to have been the most beneficial memorial of his dealings with the feudatory chiefs and the lesser nobles There are some conspicuous examples at

the present day of the excellent effects that have followed this wise departure

One of the many conspicuous features of Lord Curzon's administration of India was the thoughtful solicitude that he devoted to this same subject of the training of the young aristocracy of India

He instituted many wise reforms, especially in the direction of making their education less literary and more practical in its character than it seemed to him at the time to be The colleges were turning out young men possessing all the qualifications that at one time were supposed to suffice for a Fellow of All Souls, at Oxford they were well born and well dressed, but with only a smattering of learning Without in any way wishing to make spectacled pedants of the alumni of these institutions, Lord Curzon wished to see a more practical education given them in subjects likely to be of special benefit to them on assuming the control of their states, in the case of young chiefs, or of their estates, in the case of young landed proprietors They were still to be trained so as to become Indian gentlemen, but practical and capable Indian gentlemen

The end in view with Lord Curzon was the same as that in view with Lord Mayo—to fit them for all the duties and responsibilities of their high estate, and for ultimately taking their place as coadjutors of Government in its task of administration By the institution, moreover, of the Imperial Cadet Corps by Lord Curzon, for the more wealthy members of the aristocracy, an incentive and inducement has been held out to them to avail themselves of the educational facilities thus provided for them a military career has now been opened out for their ambition

The present Government, in its scheme for the institution of a Council of Notables, has added a fresh inducement a political career seems to be opening out before them, and an opportunity offering itself of serving the State in the way that English noblemen and gentlemen have always been glad to do

In the light of recent events, it is not uninteresting to note that Lord Mayo also suggested special measures for promoting the education of the Muhammadan population

Of Lord Mayo's foreign policy, the most marked feature

was his faculty of conciliation, whether he was dealing with the greater powers of Russia and Persia, or with the smaller power of Afghanistan His magnificent hospitality was never so conspicuous as it was on the occasion of the visit to India of the then Amir of Afghanistan, Shir Ali He had been invited to a Darbar at Ambala, and the magnificence of his reception so impressed him that he is reported to have remarked 'I now begin to feel myself a king'

In the realm of internal administration Lord Mayo's reforms extended over a vast field, how vast may be estimated from the fact that he made himself personally acquainted with every detail of administration in every province, and in almost every district The system he adopted was that in vogue during the palmy days of the Mogul Empire, when the Government was more or less a peripatetic one, moving about on tour from camp to camp a relic of this system exists to this day in the name given to the *lingua franca* of India, Urdu, which, in its origin, means the camp language it originated during the Mogul period from the necessity of having a readier means of communication than existed in the polished and courtly language of Persia, which remained, till well on into the British period of rule, the official language of the courts

The system of touring brought Lord Mayo into close personal contact with his district officers, whose confidence he readily won by his genial presence, his love of sport, and the entire absence of all officialism in his frank and open dealings with them In the course of these tours he travelled over twenty-one thousand miles

The problems that engaged his attention covered such subjects as finance, the army, public works, famine, education, statistics, agriculture, legislation, and municipal government

Agriculture was a subject that especially appealed to him, as himself a great landed proprietor in the care and solicitude he ever displayed in dealing with his own tenants on his Irish estates, he presents an example for all time to all landed proprietors The outcome of his special interest in this subject in India was the creation of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce In fixing the limits of the work of such a department, he displayed his

practical common sense he saw the folly of teaching the Indian cultivator his own trade by the introduction of such expensive luxuries as steam ploughs and ammoniac manures of such manures he pithily remarked, 'We might just as well ask the people of India to manure their ground with champagne' À propos of this remark, a good story is told of a cultivator in one of the Bengal districts The district magistrate, riding through his district one day, came to a village, on the outskirts of which he stayed to watch the operations of a cultivator, which seemed to him to be somewhat unusual the man was spreading very large quantities of the best stuff he could collect from the village manure-heaps, on his fields The district magistrate asked him what he was doing 'Oh!' replied the man in his own vernacular, 'I am giving my fields an Englishman's dinner!' The man's one idea was quantity quality was quite a secondary consideration, and quantity was the chief characteristic, he thought, of an Englishman's dinner, an idea which he had doubtless formed from the exaggerated stories of Englishmen and their ways which he had heard told at the evening gatherings round the village pipal-tree

The Department of Agriculture has done in the past, and is still doing, under the fresh impetus it has received from the Government, excellent service in collecting information from all over the world, with the view, not of teaching the Indian cultivator to do what he knows best how to do, but to assist him to help himself, and to show him by means of experimental farms, and other methods, what excellent results may follow from improved systems and improved ways of cultivation, even with the use of much the same instruments, with perhaps a few simple modifications, that the cultivators have themselves been accustomed to use for centuries past Lord Mayo was deeply convinced that the permanent amelioration of the lot of the Indian peoples must rest primarily with themselves, but that it was the duty of Government to put them in the right path the creation of the Agricultural Department was, he considered, a step in this direction This also was his aim in the steady impetus he gave to the administration of Municipal and Local Boards He looked forward to the

time when the system of local self-government, as represented by municipalities and district boards, would contribute much to the health, the wealth, and the comfort of the people coming within their sphere of influence. Time has yet to prove whether these institutions have fulfilled the expectations of their founders; that many of them are doing good work there is abundant evidence. Neither is abundant evidence wanting that many of them might do far better work than they at present do.

Among the many problems that were thus engaging the attention of Lord Mayo was that of prison discipline; and it was this problem that he was engaged on when he met with his death at the hands of an assassin.

In the year 1872 he was visiting the great convict settlements in the Andaman Islands. He had already completed his tour of inspection in safety, when in his care and solicitude for the health of the convicts, he determined to inspect a site that had been suggested for a sanatorium. It was quite dark before he returned to the jetty, where his launch was in waiting to take him to the British man-of-war which had brought him to the islands. His attendants thought that they had taken every precaution for his safety that human ingenuity could devise, but the crafty subtlety of a vindictive Pathan convict made all their precautions useless. This man had stealthily followed the party all the way up the hill and all the way down again, waiting for an opportunity to carry out his long-cherished purpose of taking the life of a great Englishman; how great the Englishman was whose life he was about to take the man probably neither knew nor cared. His opportunity came at last: the Viceroy had just stepped forward alone to get into his launch; at that moment he made his spring from behind some stones where he had been crouching; he was suddenly seen, as one of the viceregal party expressed it, fastened like a tiger on the Viceroy's back. He had barely time to plunge his knife in when he was pulled off, but that short space had sufficed for him to execute his fell purpose. The Viceroy felt that he had been struck, but, in order to allay any alarm among his attendants, he called out: 'They've hit me, but it's all right; I don't think I am much hurt.' Suddenly, however, he fell back; his last

words, as he passed away, were, 'Lift up my head' He was carried in sorrow and in silence back to the man-of-war His remains were taken in state, first to the capital of the Empire, which he had so recently left in the plenitude of regal health and strength, and then to his native country, there to be laid in the quiet resting-place which he had himself chosen some years before he left home for India

Such was the manner of the passing away of a great Englishman, one of India's greatest Viceroys

The burst of grief that ensued throughout India and his native Ireland, when the news was known, was a sufficient token and testimony to his high character

The writer of the notice of the life of Lord Mayo in the *Dictionary of National Biography* has recorded how the Queen bore testimony, in language of touching simplicity, to the extent of the calamity that had 'so suddenly deprived all classes of her subjects in India of the able, vigilant, and impartial rule of one who so faithfully represented her as Viceroy of her Eastern Empire' The Secretary of State, in an official dispatch addressed to the Government of India, described the late Governor-General as a statesman 'whose exertions to promote the interests of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, and to conduct with justice and consideration the relations of the Queen's Government with the Indian princes and states, had been marked with great success, and had not been surpassed by the most zealous labours of any of his most distinguished predecessors in the Government of India'

This sketch of a great and good man may fittingly conclude with the words of one of England's greatest poets specially adapted —

Such was he his work is done
But while the races of mankind endure,
Let his great example stand
Colossal, seen of every land,
And keep the soldier firm, the statesman pure ,
Till in all lands, and through all human story,
The path of duty be the way to glory

CHAPTER VII

THE CAPTURE OF DELHI

JOHN NICHOLSON, 1822–1857

IT has been said that the best biography that could be written of any man would be one written by his peers. What a biography of John Nicholson might not Field-Marshal Earl Roberts have given to the world! He was pre-eminently one of Nicholson's peers. Failing such, a miniature presentment must suffice such as Earl Roberts has placed in that portrait gallery of gallant heroes, not the least striking portrait in which is one of himself, painted by himself, his *Forty-one Years in India*. 'Being once ordered,' he writes, 'to report on the capabilities of Cherat as a sanatorium for English soldiers stationed at Peshawar, I spent two or three days surveying the hill, and searching for water. It was not safe to remain on the top at night, so I returned every evening to the plain below, where my tent was pitched. On one occasion I was surprised to find a camp had risen up during my absence quite close to my tent. I discovered that it belonged to Colonel John Nicholson, the Deputy-Commissioner, who was on his tour of inspection, and very soon I received an invitation to dine with him, at which I was greatly pleased. John Nicholson was a name to conjure with in the Punjab—I had heard it mentioned with an amount of respect—indeed awe—which no other name could excite, and I was all curiosity to see the man whose influence on the frontier was so great that his word was law to the refractory tribes among whom he lived. He had only lately arrived in Peshawar, having been transferred from Bannu, a difficult and troublesome district ruled by him as it had never been ruled before, and where he had made such a reputation for himself that while he was styled "A pillar of strength on the frontier", by Lord Dalhousie, he was looked up to as a god by the natives, who loved as much as they feared

him Nicholson impressed me more profoundly than any man I had ever met before, or have ever met since He was the beau idéal of a soldier and a gentleman His appearance was distinguished and commanding, with a sense of power about him which to my mind was the result of his having passed so much of his life among the wild and lawless tribesmen with whom his authority was supreme My admiration was immeasurably strengthened when I afterwards served as his staff-officer, and had opportunities of observing more closely his splendid soldierly qualities and the workings of his grand simple mind' In these few words, Earl Roberts has depicted with the pencil of a Master, the special characteristics of the man who was a born ruler of men. And it is the man who rules, and not the man who merely reigns, who will ever command the obedience, if not indeed the reverence, of an Oriental race

The atmosphere of the home in which it was Nicholson's good fortune to be reared was one of religion with its natural accompaniments of pleasantness and peace This was only to be expected from the antecedents of his parents His father and mother both belonged to Anglo-Irish families, who had settled in the north of Ireland, and they were distinguished for their earnestness and deep religious convictions And to this Nicholson was to owe that serious outlook upon life that seems never to have left him throughout his brief career The example of his father, moreover, whose death was caused by his self-sacrifice and devotion in the pursuit of his profession as a medical man, cannot but have left a lasting impression on his character As a boy he first attended a day school and it has been mentioned by Captain Trotter in his *Life of John Nicholson,* that his mother took him away from this school because she thought that his childish fancy was being too early excited by the glowing stories of past campaigns told by the old drill-sergeant who attended the school Possibly, like Clive's guardian, she may have wished to repress the hero in him and it was a fortunate thing for his country that she did not succeed He was afterwards sent to the Royal School at Dungannon in County Tyrone, where he remained till he was nearly seventeen. Here, though of

a somewhat retiring nature, he seems to have got on well both with boys and masters, which after all only means that he was a natural boy, fond of distinguishing himself in the playing-fields and fairly attentive to his books It speaks well for him that his head master was able to record of him that 'he was the soul of honour' Through the influence of an uncle, he obtained a cadetship in the Company's service He had to appear before the Board of Directors to take the oath of allegiance to his future masters It is not recorded that he had to appear before them as John Malcolm had to at an early age, to be judged by his personal bearing and appearance, as to whether he was likely to do credit to their service, but doubtless, had he been so called on, he would not have failed in the ordeal

Nicholson left England early in 1839, and arrived at Calcutta in July of the same year At Benares, whither he was soon ordered to join the 41st Native Infantry, he laid the foundations of that knowledge of the languages of the country which was to be one of the factors in the subsequent success of his career He had not been at Benares long when he was posted to the 27th Native Infantry, and was ordered to Firozpur, which was then the frontier outpost of the North-West Provinces on the borders of the Punjab He travelled by way of Mirat and Karnal, at both of which places he had the misfortune to be robbed It is possible that he had not taken the precaution which even to this day often has to be taken in the Northern Districts of India, of engaging as a watchman a member of one of the thieving tribes, on the principle that 'there is honour even among thieves'

One of his first preoccupations was to house himself This was not, however, so big a business as it sounds, and he soon ran up a temporary wooden hut, such as visitors to the vale of Kashmir who wish to avoid the heats of Srinagar during the summer, run up for themselves at the pleasant little hill-station of Gulmarg He shared his new abode with a brother officer It is often said in India, 'Make yourself a garden, and you are sure to be transferred' Nicholson found that building a house was the signal for his transfer, and before the year 1840 was out, he was ordered to Afghanistan, where the relief of the

garrisons of the Forts was proceeding as if they were so many Indian Cantonments, so great was the confidence of the Government of the day that a permanent peace had been assured by the recent operations of the British Army Their confidence was very soon to be rudely disturbed, and the various units of the British forces in Afghanistan were soon fighting for their very existence , and the small garrison at Ghazni, where Nicholson and his regiment had been posted to, was to be no exception to the general rule

Not long after Nicholson had written to his mother, ' We are now comfortably settled in,' the trouble began Towards the end of 1841, swarms of Afghans began to appear round and about Ghazni , and from December of that year down to March, 1842, the garrison was so closely invested that no supplies of food or water were procurable from outside As long as the snows lasted, snow had to act as a substitute for water but, with the melting of the snows as spring set in, even that supply failed Hunger and thirst were now added to the grim enemies the defenders had to encounter And at last the bitter alternative of death from slow starvation or surrender presented itself The Colonel in Command, Palmer, decided on surrender, as he had not only himself to think of, but the lives of his gallant Indian comrades Honourable terms were offered by the Afghans the troops were to be allowed to march out of the citadel with all the honours of war, and were to be escorted safely to Peshawar as soon as the passes became clear of snow The promise was accompanied by a solemn affirmation upon the most holy Quran The garrison moved to quarters provided for them in the town And then the value attributed by their treacherous enemies to a solemn oath upon the Quran was soon seen They had been only a few days in their new quarters, when they were attacked by their captors A writer in the *Dictionary of National Biography* has given a graphic account of the gallant stand made by Nicholson and a comrade named Crawford ' With two companies of their regiment these two young subalterns were in a house on the left of those occupied by the British, and received the first and sharpest attack They were cut off from the rest their house was

fired by the enemy, and they were driven from room to room fighting against odds for their lives, until at midnight of the second day of the attack, they found themselves exhausted with fatigue, hunger, and thirst, the house nearly burnt down, the ammunition expended, the place full of dead and dying men, and the position no longer tenable. The front was in the hands of the enemy, but Nicholson and Crawford did not lose heart. A hole was with difficulty dug with bayonets through the wall of the back of the house, and thus those left of the party were able to join Colonel Palmer.' The whole force, or what was left of it, still held out; again the overtures of their enemies had to be listened to: but even then the English officers refused to treat until assurances had been given by the Afghans of proper treatment being accorded to their Indian comrades of the rank and file. These assurances were given: then, but not till then, Colonel Palmer accepted the Afghan terms, and gave the order to his officers and men to surrender. It is recorded that Nicholson, before he would listen to the order, thrice at the head of his company drove the Afghan guard back at the point of the bayonet, and at last, with tears of grief and rage standing in his eyes, threw his sword down at the feet of his captors. With his companions Nicholson was now a prisoner; but it was to be the first and last time in his life that he found himself in such a galling position. After various vicissitudes, the prisoners, who had been sent to join Akbar Khan's other prisoners among the Hindu Kush Mountains, found themselves released on the approach of the Army of Retribution. About the same time some three hundred of the Sepoys of the regiment that had made such a gallant stand at Ghazni, were released from that slavery which their treacherous Afghan captors had considered to be a fair interpretation of the term 'proper treatment.' Sir Neville Chamberlain has recorded a characteristic incident that occurred after the return of the prisoners to Kabul, and of which Nicholson was the hero. 'Shortly after their return, I was passing not far from a tent apparently surrounded by Afghans, when I was struck by a stone. I put my hand to my sword and approached the man, who was stooping down to pick up another stone, when, to my

surprise, who should my assailant prove to be but John Nicholson, surrounded by other rescued prisoners, dressed in their Afghan prisoners' dress, when of course we both burst out laughing, and shook hands heartily '

Early in 1843 Nicholson became the Adjutant of his regiment, and two years later, having succeeded in passing the necessary examinations for a staff appointment, he found himself an Assistant Commissary The first Sikh War broke out the same year He had been anticipating a long spell of service in the Commissariat Department, not altogether with satisfaction the only good thing he could see about service as a Commissariat officer was the opportunity it might possibly present of his being able to save money, and so be in a position to send his mother some financial aid, in fulfilment of an old promise made in childhood His duties, however, throughout the campaign, were discharged so well that he had attracted the attention of Lord Hardinge and when, at the close of the campaign, the new ruler of Kashmir, Gulab Singh, asked for the loan of two British officers to help him discipline his troops on the European model, Nicholson was one of those selected He owed this appointment very largely to Sir Henry Lawrence, the new Resident at Lahore, who had given Lord Hardinge some details of Nicholson's early career The men under whose influence Nicholson was now gradually falling were destined to have an all-potent influence in completing the moulding of a fine character In Afghanistan he had first met George Lawrence, who had so impressed the imagination of his Afghan captor, Akbar Khan, by his strict scrupulousness in keeping his plighted word, and George had introduced him to his brother, Henry Lawrence Another man he also met there was Major George Broadfoot, whom his friends styled the foremost man in India Sir Neville Chamberlain was another of his early Afghanistan friends But perhaps the two men who were to have the greatest influence on his character were Herbert Edwardes and Henry Lawrence He never forgot the debt he owed the former, who was himself a past master in the art of governing fierce and warlike tribes, and was therefore a man after Nicholson's own heart And of Henry Lawrence's attitude towards

Nicholson Sir John Kaye has said 'To such a man as Henry Lawrence, the character and disposition of young Nicholson were sure to recommend him as one to be regarded with great hope and tender affection'

This appointment, which was not much in itself, was, however, to lead to better things; and by the end of the year 1846 his great opportunity had come Lord Hardinge sanctioned his permanent appointment to the North-West Frontier Agency, to which Henry Lawrence had nominated him while he was in Kashmir, and he found himself gazetted as assistant to the Resident at Lahore Thus he was again, to his own great advantage, brought into contact with a great personality By the force of circumstances, Sir Henry Lawrence had now become something more than his title of Resident implied he had become practically the Ruler of the Punjab. Greater opportunities had thus been opened out for a display both of his own powers and of those of his assistants Some two years before, Sir Henry Lawrence had written in the *Calcutta Review* an article entitled 'Romance and Reality of Indian Life', and these words occur in it 'The quality variously designated romance or enthusiasm, poetry or ideality, is not to be despised as the mere delusion of a heated brain, but it is to be valued as an energy imparted to the human mind, to prompt and sustain its noblest efforts We would urge on the young especially, not that they should repress enthusiasm, but that they should cultivate and direct the feeling' Such a man was indeed calculated to draw out and direct all the enthusiasm that had ever lain latent in Nicholson's nature, and if Nicholson himself felt the impress of a great personality, so did all Lawrence's assistants and he himself, indeed, was not slow in acknowledging the debt he owed to these young subalterns In his *Lives of Indian Officers,* Sir John Kaye has recorded how Sir Henry Lawrence wrote to him on one occasion 'I was very fortunate in my assistants, all of whom were my friends, and almost every one of whom was introduced into the Punjab through me Each was a good man The most were excellent officers'

Nicholson joined his new appointment early in 1847 He was soon dispatched on a special mission to Amritsar,

the sacred city of the Sikhs Having accomplished this to the satisfaction of his Chief, he received an appointment which gave him practically independent charge of a District known as the Sind-Sagar Doab, lying between the rivers Jhilam and Indus His first duty was to protect the people from the exactions of the subordinate revenue officials, his second to attend to the discipline and drill of the Army He also received special instructions as to the manner he was to deal with the Nazims, or Governors, and other respectable men of the District these were characteristic of the man who gave them 'Much may be done by cordiality, by supporting their just authority, attending to their moderate wishes and even whims, and by those small courtesies that natives look to, even more than they do to more important matters' A profound knowledge of Oriental character, such as was only to be expected of a man like Henry Lawrence, underlies these apparently simple instructions And that Nicholson sometimes needed such is evident from a letter which Sir Henry Lawrence had occasion to write to him some two years later, after the Punjab had become a British Province, when Sir Henry himself had become President of the New Board of Administration, and Nicholson was a Deputy-Commissioner 'Let me advise you as a friend to curb your temper and bear and forbear with Europeans and with Indians, and you will soon be as distinguished a civilian as you are a soldier' Nicholson gratefully accepted the advice, and as Sir John Kaye has remarked 'He acknowledged in his heart that his character was ripening under this good influence, and that, please God, much that was crude and imperfect in it might soon disappear' Sir Henry Lawrence had concluded his letter of instructions with these words 'Avoid as far as possible any military movement during the next three months, but, should serious disturbances arise, act energetically' Nicholson was not the man to neglect such an order as this, and an opportunity soon presented itself A brother officer had found it necessary to deal with some refractory chiefs on being called upon to account for the brutal murder of some women and children, they had treated the orders with defiance and had shut themselves up in their fort. Three columns were dispatched Nichol-

son arrived first on the scene, but such had been the magic of his name that the chiefs had slipped off, and the fort was occupied without resistance. He very soon succeeded in impressing the people of his wild District, who were of all races, customs, and callings, with his own masterful personality. It was here that he first manifested that extraordinary aptitude for the coercion and the government of barbarous tribes that he was afterwards to show to still greater purpose, as opportunities gradually opened out before him. After a short administration of some six months, he was able to report that ‘the country, hitherto more or less disturbed, is now perfectly quiet, and the native officials for the first time for years move about without guards.’

In the spring of 1848, Nicholson was temporarily transferred to Peshawar as Chief Assistant to George Lawrence. ‘Alarums and excursions,’ such as his soul delighted in, were always to be had in this wild frontier District. One of his first duties was to capture some men who had committed murder; his usual promptness enabled him not only to effect this, but also to get possession of a quantity of arms and ammunition which the tribesmen had been storing up, as is their wont, in preparation for those raids which are as the breath of their existence. His services were soon in request for still sterner work. Events were rapidly developing towards a general rising of the Sikhs, who seemed determined to try another throw with the British. It became necessary to checkmate the plans of a notable Sikh chieftain, who was suspected of a design to restore the intriguing Rani to the palace at Lahore, and to expel the British from the Punjab. George Lawrence determined to call upon Nicholson to undertake the task. But when he visited him, he found him in bed suffering from a severe bout of fever. He said to Nicholson: ‘Had you been fit for the work, I should have wished to send you; but that is out of the question. I must send some one else.’ Nicholson at once replied: ‘Never mind the fever. I will start to-night.’ And that very night he did start with a small body of horse and foot; he had fifty miles to go, and he rode so fast all through that hot August night that he outdistanced most of his small

force, and arrived at the Fort at Attock with only some thirty men He rode up to the gate just in time to prevent the plotters within closing it against him. He completely cowed the mutineers by his bold bearing, and won over the wavering to his side, even persuading them to arrest their own leaders Ere long the mutinous Sikh Company, who had been prepared to hand the fort over to the rebel Sikh chieftain, were marching sullenly out of the fort Well might George Lawrence write to Sir John Kaye 'Never shall I forget him, as he prepared for his start, full of that noble reliance in the presence and protection of God, which, added to his unusual share of physical courage, rendered him almost invincible' The very next day he rode off in an easterly direction to check another mutinous rising amongst a body of Sikh horse He has recorded the result in his own terse and vigorous language 'I paraded the party and dismissed and confined the ringleaders on the spot The remainder begged to be forgiven, and having some reason to believe them sincere, and wishing to show that I was not entirely without confidence in Sikhs, I granted it I shall of course keep a sharp look-out on them in future' Nicholson was never a penman at any time, and though he kept his Chief informed of what he was doing, he wrote a characteristic letter of apology for the curt brevity of his notes 'This constant knocking about prevents my writing as clearly or carefully as I could wish I am from ten to fourteen hours every day in the saddle, though not very strong, and though the heat is great' It is recorded of General Wolfe, whose constitution was naturally a weak one, that before his great victory at Quebec he had said to his doctor 'Don't talk to me of constitution spirit will carry a man through anything' Nicholson's constitution was naturally a grand one, but his report showed that it was being rapidly undermined by repeated attacks of fever—and nothing weakens a man more in India—but his spirit carried him through everything On one occasion he had only some seven hundred matchlock men with him, all more or less undisciplined and untrained peasants, and yet, by what has been called a magnificent piece of bluff, he held up a complete regiment of disciplined infantry with two guns, and

made the Colonel come forward and beg pardon on behalf of himself and his men, and agree to march in any direction he might order needless to say, this was in exactly the opposite direction they had been going in, which would have enabled them to join forces with the rebel Sikh chieftain

And so it was during all the weeks that elapsed before the actual outbreak of the Second Sikh War Wherever Nicholson was most wanted, there he was sure to be found What his life was at this time may be seen from a letter he wrote to his mother 'I am leading a very guerrilla sort of life with seven hundred horse and foot raised among the people of the country The chieftain who is in rebellion has eight regular regiments and sixteen guns, so that I am unable to meet them openly in the field I received a slight hurt from a stone in a skirmish in the hills a week or two ago I have often had a worse one when a boy at school, and I only mention this as I was reported to have been seriously hurt, and I feared lest the report should reach you, and cause you anxiety' In these modest words he refers to a really serious hurt he had received, which might very well have caused his death, in one of the most gallant feats that even he had ever performed There is a famous pass on the road between Peshawar and Rawal Pindi, through which the railway now runs, which is known as the Margalla, or Cut-throat Pass At this time it was commanded by a tower, which like many of the towers used by hill-men, had no door below, but only an opening some ten feet above the ground, access to which was by means of a ladder, which would be drawn up after entry by the defenders it would thus become practically impregnable to an ordinary assault unsupported by guns Nicholson had no scaling ladders with him, and no man in his force capable of handling effectively a powder-bag He was unaware that there was no door, but it would probably have made no difference even had he known it He charged, as usual, at the head of his men in the face of a hail of bullets finding the real state of affairs, he looked behind to order his men to bring up brushwood, intending to smoke the rebels out, but found only a very few had followed him He worked with might and main trying to dislodge with his own hands

the huge unmortared stones of which the tower was built, so as to force an entrance The enemy meanwhile were hurling down upon him and the handful of men with him the huge stones which so often form in the hands of skilled hill-men most formidable weapons of offence, and it was one of these that struck Nicholson badly in the face Nicholson's friends attributed his marvellous escape from death to the bad aim of the enemy caused by the awe his presence inspired in a superstitious soldiery Though, owing to want of support from his own men, he was unsuccessful in carrying the tower, as he had intended, by assault, it is recorded that the Sikh garrison, scared by the boldness of the first assault, evacuated the place under cover of the night, and so his object was attained, though not exactly in the manner he had hoped

On another occasion, Nicholson volunteered to make a dash across the Jhilam with a body of horse to rescue from captivity his friend George Lawrence, his wife and children, who had fallen into the hands of the rebel Sikh chieftain His plan, it is stated, excited the admiration of Lord Dalhousie, but the project was abandoned, as it was pronounced to be too hazardous even for a leader of Nicholson's quality The prisoners, who had been well treated, were not released till after Guzerat

During the Second Sikh War, Nicholson acted as aide de camp and galloper to the general commanding, in addition to his own special duties as Political Officer with the Army He was present both at Chilhianwala and at Guzerat In the interval between these battles, he was entrusted with the work of reconnoitring and exploring the country in search of commissariat supplies, and also with the more humane task of protecting the peaceful villagers from the plundering and raiding parties of camp-followers During his famous march on Lucknow at a later date, Havelock found it necessary to appoint a Provost-Marshal, as the only means of checking this propensity to plunder not only on the part of camp-followers, but also on that of regular troops Nicholson now applied for similar powers, and he wrote to Sir Henry Lawrence 'If I get them, rely on my bringing the army to its senses within two days' Though he did not get the powers he wanted he did much to stop the

mischief These duties had kept him in the saddle day after day, but with the victory of Guzerat came more congenial work After doing a little work on his own account, when he rode off with a trusty troop of Pathans on a ride of twenty-five miles in search of nine guns, which he succeeded in securing, he was attached to the flying column which was formed under General Gilbert, to pursue and harry the flying Sikhs and Afghans He was present when the prisoners, whose escape he had so longed to be able to effect himself, were brought into camp, and at the final scene of all when the Sikh leaders surrendered to General Gilbert, and sixteen thousand Sikh soldiers laid down their arms It did not take long then to send the Afghans scurrying back into their native hills With the annexation of the Punjab, Nicholson returned to civil duty, and was appointed Deputy-Commissioner in Rawal Pindi In a characteristic letter to Sir Henry Lawrence, he sent in his little bill against Government, 'for property lost at Peshawar, Attock, and Hasan Abdal, 1,000 rupees, I also rode a horse worth 400 rupees to death on Government service—not running away'

The District to which Nicholson was now appointed was very familiar to him, as he had already seen a good deal of service there, and had made his name respected He was now destined to make it not only more respected, but actually reverenced The imagination of the people had already been impressed by the man, who combined in himself the masterful personality of a strong ruler with the generous sympathy of a kind master It was not long before, with that facility that is characteristic of the more simple-minded people of an Oriental race, they raised him to the position of a demi-god A new cult arose called the cult of Nikal Seyn Captain Trotter has told an amusing story connected with the founder of the sect 'The man went one day to Abbott, who ruled a District to the north of Nicholson's charge, and asked him for the gift of an old beaver hat Abbott could not spare his, so the man, determined not to be done, secured one from an English gentleman at Rawal Pindi Abbott could not make out why he was so anxious to get one the secret was soon out One day a shopkeeper rushed into Abbott's office to lodge a complaint against the Nikal Saini holy man He had been

asking alms of the shopkeeper, and failing to get what he wanted, he had placed the tall hat on the ground right in the shopkeeper's path, and had then dared him to advance and outrage the Sahib by treading upon it Rather than do this the shopkeeper had complied with the man's demand' The writer of this sketch once had under his own observation an illustration of the respect a tall hat, and more especially a tall hat that has belonged to a Hakim, or Magistrate, can inspire among simple-minded rustics He had occasion one day to rebuke an office-bearer attached to one of his offices for the general slovenliness of his dress Next day the man appeared wearing a tall hat which had been recently given him by the Deputy-Commissioner He was utterly oblivious of the ridiculous appearance he presented to an Englishman, for had it not gained him the increased respect of his fellow villagers, and that was all he cared about? But it would probably never have occurred to him to put it to the use the Nikal Saini holy man had put his to Another great personality who was afterwards the recipient of divine honours from a simple people was James Outram, of whom for many years a miniature presentment, rough hewn from a block of stone, used to figure in wayside shrines in the Bhil country In both men their simple-minded subjects recognized, not by any means the embodiment of a relentless force, as has sometimes been said, but the dominating might of an all-powerful, yet kindly, will There was a difference between their traditional and older divinities and the newer One of the most beautiful of all religious hymns that have appeared in any literature is that enshrined in the pages of Sanscrit poetry, it is addressed to Brahma, a majestic but solitary figure, seated above, and far remote from human joys or griefs Such was the conception these rustics had formed of their own divinities When, therefore, they saw men whom they had raised to the same high rank, participating with them in their simple pleasures, and sympathizing with their joys and sorrows, is it any wonder that they held them enshrined not only in their hearts, but in their wayside shrines? It is recorded that the last member of the Nikal Saini sect died a year only after Nicholson, and was buried in the grave he had prepared for himself with the work of his own hands during his lifetime This is no un-

common ending of many an ascetic in India, and amongst the mountains of Himalaya will be found even now many such a man During his wanderings in Kashmir, the writer of this sketch came across a devotee of this kind living on the banks of a sacred lake, the Lake of Contemplation, and every day scooping a little more out of the sandy hill-side, and thus making a place to serve as his last resting-place

Nicholson was now a Major in the Bengal Army, and with some ten years' service to his credit, and he determined to take furlough to Europe But he was anxious to have some assurance that he would again find employment in the Punjab when he returned to India, and he did not care to leave till he had secured this It was during this period of waiting that he wrote to a friend, 'India is like a rat-trap, easier to get into than *out of*' At last the assurance he wanted reached him in a letter from Sir Henry Lawrence, which was worded in terms, which in the case of any one but Nicholson, might be called flattering 'What corner of the Punjab is not witness to your gallantry? Get married and come back soon, and if I am alive and in office, it shall not be my fault if you do not find employment here' Nothing now stood in the way of his departure, and early in the year 1850 he left India on a holiday that was to extend over two years The limits of this sketch will not allow of a detailed description of how he spent his furlough On his way home he figured in some incidents that showed his friends that the spirit of knight-errantry was not yet extinct among the chivalric youth of England During his stay in Europe he visited most of the capitals, and made himself acquainted with the most recent developments of military science In Russia he witnessed a grand review of troops by the Emperor Nicholas, whom his friends thought he resembled a good deal in personal appearance His friend Herbert Edwardes was on leave much about the same time, but Nicholson did not follow his example and get married, as his friends had hoped He had no wish, he said, to take a lady across the Indus, and expose her to the perils that he had himself seen his friends' wives and children being exposed to And so he returned to India, as he had left it, a bachelor

A great change had come over the Province to which

Nicholson now returned, in the spring of 1852, and Nicholson saw evidences all round him of the results of good and just government following upon the annexation. Captain Trotter has well said: 'Within three years of the great surrender of Rawal Pindi, Ranjit's crude kingdom had been transformed, as if by magic, into one of the most thriving, best ordered provinces of British India. Three years of just, wise, unflaggingly provident rule, aided by a series of favouring seasons, had raised the youngest of our Indian possessions to a level with Bombay or Bengal. Thanks to the tireless zeal of Dalhousie himself, and all who worked under him, from the Lawrence brothers down to the youngest member of the Punjab Commission, the Lahore Board could already declare that 'in no part of India had there been more perfect quiet than in the territories lately annexed.' Nicholson was appointed to succeed Reynell Taylor, as Deputy Commissioner of Bannu, early in May, 1852. He considered himself very fortunate in succeeding such men as Reynell Taylor, described as 'the Bayard of the Punjab', and Herbert Edwardes, who had laid the foundations of his future success as an administrator in the wild frontier district of Bannu. It was a District that extended northward from the hills of Kohat, where dwell the Khatak Mountaineers, famed for their fantastic and picturesque dance with sword and torch, and southward for some 160 miles, covering an area of some 6,500 square miles.

In such a district Nicholson found plenty of scope for his native genius and capacity. 'Capax imperii, nisi imperasset,' was never a judgement that could be passed on Nicholson. He soon earned for himself the title of Warder of the Marches. Some of the most troublesome of the many troublesome tribes that Nicholson had to deal with were the Wazirs, of whom, as is the case with most of the Frontier tribes, there were several clans; one of these, the Mahsud Wazirs, have ever been a thorn in the side of the Government of India. What these clansmen were like may be judged of by a conversation that it is recorded Nicholson once held with one of the rising generation. He wrote to Edwardes an account of this: 'Fancy a wretched little Waziri child who had been put up to poison food, on my asking him if it was wrong to kill people, saying that it

was wrong to kill with a knife or sword I asked him why, and he answered, "Because the blood left marks"' Yet he knew his way to the hearts of even these little wretches in the same letter he wrote and asked Edwardes to send him 'a few humming-tops, jews'-harps, or other toys suitable for Waziri children', and he had characteristically added 'I wont ask for peg-tops, as I suppose I should have to teach them how to use them, which would be an undignified proceeding on the part of a District Officer' It was such a letter as 'Boy Malcolm' might have written

Nicholson still had many things to learn in his Civil administration, and he had one or two differences with his new chief, Sir John Lawrence, who, early in 1853, succeeded to the sole command of the Province Whenever it was a case of bringing a disorderly tribe to reason, or of smashing up a raiding party, Nicholson always wanted to do it off his own bat, and Sir John Lawrence had to remind him that he was now a Civil officer, and that he must leave punitive measures to the military authorities Lord Dalhousie had to support Sir John in this plain speaking He wrote 'I know that Nicholson is a first rate guerrilla leader, but we don't want a guerrilla policy' An amusing story has been recorded of Nicholson's short methods with Government Regulations 'An intimate friend of his found him one day sitting in his office with a bundle of papers before him "This is the way I treat such things," he remarked laughingly, and proceeded to kick them across the floor' But though he chafed at much, as was only natural to a man of his ardent temperament, he did excellent work as an administrative officer And Sir John Lawrence was able to report of him to Lord Dalhousie in these terms 'I look on Major Nicholson as the best District Officer on the frontier He possesses great courage, much force of character, and is at the same time shrewd and intelligent He is well worth the wing of a regiment on the border, as his prestige with the people, both on the hills and the plains, is very great He is also a very fair Civil officer, and has done a good deal to put things straight in his District'

Many stories have been told of Nicholson's vigorous régime in Bannu, but space will not allow of their reproduction within the limits of this short sketch If he was able

to inspire awe and admiration among the wild people he had to deal with, he was also able to inspire his own immediate *entourage* with devotion An incident occurred one day early in 1856, which will serve to illustrate this He was standing at the gate of his garden with some of his attendants at noon one day, when an Afghan fanatic, known on the Frontier as a Ghazi, suddenly rushed up with a drawn sword, and called out, 'Where is Nikal Seyn?' He had for the moment been unable to recognize his intended victim because of the Afghan postheen, or sheepskin coat, he was wearing One of Nicholson's orderlies at once threw himself upon the man, crying out, 'We are all Nikal Seyns here,' and would probably have done for the Ghazi, but Nicholson did not wish to run the risk of the man losing his life in the encounter, so he seized a musket out of the hands of another orderly, and shot the Ghazi dead His laconic dispatch to his Chief was 'I shot a man the other day who went at me with a drawn sword' His work at Bannu may be best summed up in the character sketch that Herbert Edwardes, as Captain Trotter has recorded, drew up for a friend of his 'Of what class is John Nicholson the type? Of none, for truly he stands alone But he belongs essentially to the school of Henry Lawrence I only knocked down the walls of the Bannu Forts John Nicholson has since reduced the people—the most ignorant, depraved, and blood-thirsty in the Punjab—to such a state of good order and respect for the laws, that in the last year of his charge not only was there no murder, burglary, or highway robbery, but not even an attempt at any of these crimes The Bannuchis, reflecting on their own metamorphosis, in the village gatherings under the vines, by the streams they once delighted to fight for, have come to the conclusion that the good Muhammadans of historic ages must have been like Nikal Seyn They emphatically approve him as every inch a Hakim And so he is'

The Government had recently inaugurated a new departure in Kashmir The increasing numbers of European visitors to the vales of that beautiful country had rendered it necessary to have some special officer on the spot who could intervene in disputes between them and the local inhabitants, and be of service in other ways Nicholson

was thus deputed, in the spring of 1856, to act as special officer during the six months that visitors were then allowed to remain in the valley The duties then performed by the special officer are now performed by the Resident, and with the large numbers of visitors that now throng into the valley every year these duties are by no means light In the case of disputes between the visitors and the inhabitants, any one who knows or who has experienced the ways of the wily Kashmiri, knows well that the fault is not always on the side of the visitor Ladies were beginning to frequent Kashmir at this time, and it will always redound to the credit of Nicholson that, not only with the strong hand of authority, but also by the force of the example of his own high moral tone, he did much to cleanse the moral atmosphere, and to make the valley a more suitable abode for ladies There have not been wanting critics in recent years from among the ranks of Englishwomen too, who have passed rather severe strictures on their countrywomen in India These critics have overlooked one very important fact, and that is the enormous influence for good that the presence of English ladies in India has had on their countrymen A sultanized Englishman, not uncommon in an India of an earlier day, is now as rare in India as is the dodo in the zoological world There must have been much in the Kashmir of Nicholson's day to form food for thought He must have seen, amongst other things, that there was something to seek in the methods of the revenue collections Even in the writer's own experience rents were still being paid in kind, and in a year that had witnessed both earthquake and famine it was no uncommon sight to see a heap of grain at the entrance to the villages awaiting the visit of the tax-collector, and actually rotting, while the people of the village were hard put to it to procure food If, in the Punjab, the names of John and Henry Lawrence have become household words, so in Kashmir has the name of Walter Lawrence, whose beneficent work of settlement has done so much for the betterment of the peasants of that most beautiful country

Towards the end of the year 1856, Nicholson, to his own great joy, found himself posted as Deputy-Commissioner

to Peshawar, where his friend Edwardes was Commissioner For three months in the spring of the fateful year 1857, he acted for Edwardes, who, fortunately for his own peace of mind, as it was to turn out, was sending his wife to England, and was accompanying her as far as Calcutta, on her way Edwardes had not been back a week, when news of the first bursting of the storm was flashed across the wires from Mirat The message ended ominously with the words 'The electric telegraph wire cut' It was a fortunate thing for England that at this crisis there should be found at the outpost of the Empire three such strong men as Herbert Edwardes, the Commissioner, John Nicholson, the Deputy Commissioner, and Sydney Cotton, the Brigadier Edwardes, while he was down in Calcutta, had had an interview on his friend's behalf with Lord Canning At the close of the interview he had said 'If your lordship should ever have anything of real difficulty to be done in India, I give you my word that John Nicholson is the man to do it' The time had arrived, and Nicholson was on the spot If, during the peaceful period of his administration in the Peshawar District, 'the sound of his horse's hoofs had been heard from Attock to the Khaibar,' it was soon to be heard over the whole of the Punjab, but it was to be the sound of the hoofs of a war-horse, ever eager for the fray No time was lost Edwardes had already written to his Chief at Lahore that 'the matter would have to be brought without further delay to the bayonet' A Council of War was held, one of the few Councils where perfect unanimity has prevailed, and it was at once resolved, on Nicholson's suggestion, that a movable column of picked troops should be formed, and a strong body of Multani Horse from the Derajat be raised, in the joint names, Edwardes had significantly said, 'of Nicholson and myself, for the Khans of the Derajat are as much his friends as mine' Earl Roberts has recorded that he was one of the two Staff officers present at this Council to register the decisions come to, and he has stated how impressed he was by the calm and confident bearing of its members They were calm in the consciousness of their strength, and in the righteousness of their cause The command of the movable column was given to Neville

Chamberlain, who was a man like-minded with Nicholson and his peers It had been at first proposed that Nicholson should accompany the column as Civil and Political Officer, but when the question was referred to Sir John Lawrence, the answer came back promptly 'Nicholson cannot be spared from Peshawar'

And there was plenty of work for him to do Much secret correspondence was passing along the frontier at this time, and it was part of his business to find out what it meant, and this his unrivalled knowledge of the vernaculars and of Persian enabled him to do The post office was daily overhauled, and many apparently harmless and innocent travellers were relieved of the seditious missives found concealed in folds of cloth under their armpits A Persian editor was found to be publishing false reports intended to stir up sedition Nicholson always dealt with such gentry in a summary and effective manner, and the editor promptly made the acquaintance of a British jail But there was soon sterner work for him to do, and work some of which must have gone very much against the grain, that of disarming, not only regiments known to be mutinously inclined, but those also against which there was little real evidence of disaffection, but it was a time when, as an old Afghan chief is recorded to have said to Nicholson, 'The Sahibs must rely upon themselves' it had therefore to be done The work had in many cases to be carried out in the face of protests from many of the British officers of the native regiments selected for disarming It is recorded that on one occasion the officers of a cavalry regiment actually threw their own swords with those of their men into the carts that had been brought to the parade ground to carry away the arms, and some indeed tore off their spurs and flung them in At a conference convened by Edwardes, at which Nicholson was present, the brave old Brigadier, Sydney Cotton, was at last compelled to cut short the remonstrances of the officers present with the curt remark 'No more discussion, gentlemen! These are my orders, and I must have them obeyed' The first of these disarmaments took place at Peshawar, and the effect upon the people of the district has been described as magical There had been some difficulty

before in getting men to join the new levies that were being raised, but after this exhibition of pluck and determination on the part of the Sahibs, this difficulty at once came to an end, and in the picturesque language of Edwardes, as recorded by Captain Trotter, 'Hundreds of Khans and Urbabs, who stood aloof the day before, appeared as thick as flies and were profuse in offers of service'

Many were the disarmaments that followed, but in some cases the mutinous regiments did not wait to be disarmed, but marched off, with drums beating and colours flying, either in the direction of the hills, if they were frontier regiments, or in the direction of Delhi, if they were nearer that city It was in dealing with such regiments as these that Nicholson proved himself the beau idéal of a guerrilla chieftain The description, as given by Captain Trotter, of how he dealt with the mutineers who had marched off to the hills of Swat, reads like one of the romances of an earlier day A column under Colonel Chute had been formed to pursue this regiment Nicholson accompanied it in the capacity of civil and political officer with a body of mounted police The mutineers had gained a long start, and the irregular cavalry seemed disinclined for the business of pursuit 'But John Nicholson was there on his great grey charger, longing to hunt down and cut up the retreating enemy At the head of his own Sowars, stoutly seconded by Lind's Multani Horse, he dashed forward on his death-dealing errand like an eagle swooping on his prey Mile after mile, and hour after hour, the chase continued, Nicholson's great sword felling a Sepoy at every stroke The mutineers fought stubbornly as men do who have no chance of escape but by their own exertions The retreat ere long became a rout The rebels were hunted out of villages, and grappled with in ravines, and hunted over the ridges, all that day, from Fort Mardan to the borders of Swat, and found respite only in the failing light' Nicholson was twenty hours in the saddle, and covered over seventy miles on this famous ride When he found the press acclaiming him as the hero of the day, with true modesty he disclaimed all praise for himself and gave it all to Colonel Chute On his return, he sent a characteristic letter to his Chief 'I have got a man who taunted my

police on the line of march with siding with infidels in a religious war May I hang him ? '

In the middle of June, Nicholson received the command of the Punjab movable column, and having been ordered to meet his Chief at Rawal Pindi, he bade farewell to Edwardes at Peshawar As Nicholson was departing on his new mission, Edwardes, as recorded by Captain Trotter, wrote to Sir John Lawrence 'So there goes dear fine Nicholson—a great loss to me, but a still greater gain to the State at this crisis A nobler spirit never went forth to fight his country's battles' From Rawal Pindi Nicholson hastened to Jalandhar, where he was to join the column A characteristic incident occurred here, which has been recorded by Earl Roberts Nicholson found the place garrisoned by troops lent by the Raja of Kapurthala, as the Sepoys, who formed the regular garrison, had mutinied and departed The Commissioner, anxious to do honour to the Raja's General and other distinguished officers and gentlemen of the place, invited them to a Darbar to meet Nicholson The ceremony over, the assembly rose up to depart The General, being the chief guest, proceeded to leave first as he reached the door Nicholson barred his exit When all had left, Nicholson turned to the Commissioner, and said to him 'Do you see that the General has his shoes on ?' And turning to the General, he addressed him in his own language, and said, 'If I were the last Englishman left in Jalandhar, you should not come into my presence with your shoes on with the Commissioner's permission, I shall now ask you to remove them and carry them out yourself' The General did so and departed Nicholson was no stickler for etiquette, but the times were 'out of joint', and the insolent demeanour of the Kapurthala troops, who were swaggering about the streets as only Sikhs and Rajputs know how to swagger when they think they have the upper hand, showed that they recognized this also Nicholson knew that it behoved every Englishman to show a bold front Apart from this, no man knew native customs and native sentiment better than Nicholson, and he knew the etiquette prevailing among native gentlemen themselves on ceremonial occasions, and he further knew that the best native sentiment

would be with him in insisting on the observation of the same forms by native gentlemen when visiting English gentlemen, more especially on the occasion of one of the most important ceremonial functions known in the East. That such was the case was proved by the fact that the General bore Nicholson no ill-will, and the Raja of Kapurthala himself ever after made it the subject of a joke against the General. It is sometimes urged by their Indian critics that Englishmen in India are too great sticklers for etiquette. After all, there is necessity for give and take on both sides. The Englishman should insist on the observance by his Indian friends and acquaintances of customs common among themselves on all important ceremonial occasions, but should be content to waive them on all social occasions, and the Indian should be prepared to meet him half-way. And indeed the more thoughtful among Indian gentlemen will always be prepared to meet the English gentleman who possesses character more than half-way, not only in this matter of etiquette, but in other matters also.

'Onwards to Delhi' had been the cry of many a regiment of mutineers throughout the country in the early days of the great crisis, but few of such regiments from the Punjab ever succeeded in carrying out their intentions. Where they had not been disarmed by Nicholson's foresight, his rapid marches and brilliant strategy frustrated all such attempts. A graphic presentment of the ardent General, as he appeared on one of the few halts he had allowed his men on one of these rapid marches, has been given by Captain Trotter. 'During the hottest part of the afternoon, a halt was sounded beside a grove of trees, in order that our overworn soldiers might snatch an hour's rest beneath its cool shade. Nicholson, ever eager to press on, had taken this step with manifest reluctance. One of his officers, on awaking from his brief slumber, inquired for the General, but could not find him among the sleepers. At last he saw Nicholson in the middle of the hot dusty road, sitting bolt upright on his horse in the full glare of the July sun, waiting, like a sentinel turned to stone, for the moment when his men should resume their march.' After holding command of the Punjab movable column for

a few weeks, Nicholson received orders to march to Delhi These were the orders he and his men had long been expecting and longing for, and very welcome to their comrades before Delhi were the reinforcements to prove

Nicholson pushed on ahead of his force, and reached Delhi in the early morning of August 7 With characteristic thoroughness, he proceeded to make an inspection of the position Sir John Kaye has recorded the impression his striking personality made on those who now saw him for the first time 'About this time a stranger of very striking appearance was remarked visiting all our pickets, examining everything and making most searching inquiries about their strength and history His attire gave no clue to his rank it evidently never cost the owner a thought, moreover, in these anxious times every one went as he pleased perhaps no two officers were dressed alike It was soon made out that this was General Nicholson, whose person was not yet known in camp, and it was whispered at the same time that he was possessed of the most brilliant military genius He was a man cast in a giant mould, and an expression ardent and commanding, with a dash of roughness features of stern beauty, a long black beard, and deep, sonorous voice There was something of immense strength, talent, and resolution in his whole gait and manner, and a power of ruling men on high occasions that no one could escape noticing' After this preliminary inspection, Nicholson rejoined his column, and on the morning of August 14, an ever memorable morning in the history of the siege of Delhi, the column marched in with Nicholson at its head 'It was a sight,' writes Sir John Kaye, 'to stir the spirits of the whole camp Our people turned out joyously to welcome the arrival of the newcomers, and the gladsome strains of our military bands floated down to the rebel city with a menace in every note'

But the end was not yet A month was to elapse before the final arrangements for the grand assault could be made The heavy siege battery on which so much depended, laden with its load of ammunition, sufficient, it was said, to grind Delhi to powder, arrived in camp on September 4 That it arrived at all was due to Nicholson. The enemy

had sent out a strong force to intercept it Nicholson had smashed up this force and captured its guns, and that after a march that had presented unparalleled difficulties The ground over which his force marched was so bad that an artillery officer wrote 'The guns sometimes stuck fast up to their axles, and the water was often over the backs of the artillery horses I began to think that we could not possibly get out of our difficulties, but I looked ahead and ever in front I saw Nicholson's great form riding steadily on as if nothing was the matter, and so I felt sure all was right' Sir John Lawrence, in writing to congratulate Nicholson on his feat, said 'I wish I had the power of knighting you on the spot It should be done' On the eve of the assault, an assembly of generals was held Nicholson was the only one absent he had gone on a last inspection of the batteries Earl Roberts has recorded that when he visited his battery, he remarked 'I must shake hands with you fellows, for you have done your best to make my work easy to-morrow' On his return from his tour of inspection he was invited by Neville Chamberlain to dine with him, but he declined as he had other business in hand He had to meet his officers to give them their last instructions these, it has been recorded, included the words of wisdom 'Don't press the enemy too hard Let them have a golden bridge to retire by' When it was known in camp that Nicholson had been chosen for the post of honour as the leader of the first column, the whole force congratulated themselves that it was so As Sir John Kaye has finely said 'No man doubted his power, and no man envied his reputation All men felt that a great soldier had come among them, full-brained and lion-hearted, and they looked to him to lead them to victory'

The morning of the fateful day, September 14, 1857, dawned, and it found Nicholson stationed at the head of his troops waiting for the signal to advance There had been a temporary pause while the heavy breaching batteries were knocking to pieces the fresh defences the enemy had erected during the night Earl Roberts has recorded the thoughts that passed through his mind during the pause 'Standing on the crenellated wall that separated Ludlow

Castle from the road, I saw Nicholson at the head of his column, and wondered what was passing through his mind Was he thinking of the future, or of the wonderful part he had played during the past four months? At Peshawar he had been Edwardes's right hand At the head of the movable column he had been mainly instrumental in keeping the Punjab quiet, and at Delhi every one felt that during the short time he had been with us he had been our guiding star, and that, but for his presence in the camp, the assault which he was about to lead would probably never have come off He was truly a tower of strength Any feeling of reluctance to serve under a Captain of the Company's Army had been completely overcome by his wonderful personality Each man in the force, from the General to the last joined private soldier, recognized that the man whom the wild people on the frontier had deified—the man of whom a little time before Edwardes had said to Lord Canning, 'You may rely upon this, that if there is a desperate deed to be done in India, John Nicholson is the man to do it,' was one who had proved himself beyond all doubt capable of grappling with the crisis through which we were passing, one to follow to the death Faith in the commander who had claimed, and been given the post of honour, was unbounded, and every man was prepared to do or die for him' At last the bugles of the Rifles sounded the signal for the assault, and the columns advanced

Nicholson, like the born leader that he was, led his column in person and was the first to mount the ladder and gain the walls While the second column was sweeping the ramparts, occupying the bastions and defences, and driving the enemy before them up to the Kabul gate, Nicholson and his men were attacking and capturing the various buildings held by the enemy along his line of advance The two columns met at the Kabul Gate, and in the picturesque language of Sir John Kaye 'The regimental bugle-calls were sounded, the different corps were gathered together, and men shook hands and congratulated each other, and somewhat marvelled that any were alive' But the work was not over a heavy fire was being directed against the troops from the Lahore

Gate The orders of the day had been that, if possible, the Lahore Gate was to be opened to admit of the entrance of the fourth column, and Nicholson was not the man to stop short when anything remained to be done He determined, therefore, to make a supreme effort and capture the gate The only way to it was through a narrow lane swept by artillery, and commanded by houses occupied by the enemy—a veritable valley of death A gallant rush was made, not once or twice only, but the task seemed almost beyond the powers of men tried as Nicholson's men had already been What followed must be told in the noble language of the historian of the Sepoy War 'There was something of a waver—a pause The British soldier found himself in the position he most hated It was not fair fighting He was in a trap Nicholson saw it all—saw what was depressing the hearts and checking the onward movement of our fighting men So he drew himself up to his full height, and with his sword raised high above his head, called upon his men to follow him To some at least of the defenders of Delhi that face and figure must have been familiar Others saw a man of commanding presence, whose position at the head of the column indicated that he was a great chief His lofty stature rendered him so conspicuous that, if he had been a private soldier, some rifleman at a window, or on a housetop, would have taken deadly aim at him, and he would have sent one more hated Feringhi to his last account But it was not a single life that he took it was the life of a whole Army Nicholson was shot through the body, he knew at once that he had received his death-wound, but he begged that he might not be carried back to camp, until the capture of Delhi was secure' And so, as Sir Hope Grant said, 'like a noble oak riven asunder by a thunderbolt,' Nicholson fell in the hour of victory He lingered long enough to know how great the victory had been, and then, on the morning of September 23, he died 'There was a great wail of the universal camp,' the historian has recorded, 'and from city to city, from cantonment to cantonment, went the chequered tidings Delhi had fallen The king was a captive But John Nicholson was dead'

For some fifty years, the only memorial to the hero was

a marble slab, that had once served as a garden-seat for many a Mogul emperor, with a simple inscription engraved on it, placed over his grave A fine statue now stands in the garden where he lies buried It represents, as an account in the *Times* has recorded 'John Nicholson, the Nikal Seyn Sahib of the Warrior races of the Punjab, with his head inclined towards the Kashmir Gate, and his sword unsheathed The scabbard is lifted, as if the General were about to point the way to the final assault' Lord Minto, Viceroy of India, unveiled the statue in April, 1906, and the same account goes on to say 'Lord Minto, who was in general's uniform, with true soldierly instinct, wore no decoration except the medals won on active service in the field. He delivered a stirring speech in clear ringing tones, and completely carried his audience with him His speech was the true, sincere, and eloquent tribute to the memory of another soldier, whose heroic qualities and achievements crowned by a glorious death in the hour of victory, had for half a century been a living inspiration to the officers and men of the Army in India'

'Who is the happy Warrior? who is he
That every man in arms should wish to be?
It is the generous Spirit, who, when brought
Among the tasks of real life, hath wrought
Upon the plan that pleased his boyish thought
Whose high endeavours are an inward light
That makes the path before him always bright
Who, not content that former worth stand fast,
Looks forward, persevering to the last,
From well to better, daily self-surpast
And, while the mortal mist is gathering, draws
His breath in confidence of Heaven's applause
This is the happy Warrior this is he
That every man in arms should wish to be'

With these lines of the poet Wordsworth, which are perhaps even more applicable to John Nicholson than they are to most heroes, this sketch may fittingly conclude.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RELIEF OF LUCKNOW

Sir Henry Havelock, 1795–1857

Henry Havelock was fortunate in the influences that were brought to bear upon him in his childhood in his home in the far north of England, where his father was engaged in the shipbuilding trade He received from his mother that systematic religious training which was to affect his outlook on life throughout nearly the whole of his career As a boy he seems to have displayed that physical and moral courage that were such marked traits in his character at a later period of his life His imagination, even at this early age, was impressed by the towering personality of the great Napoleon , and he read all the literature he could get hold of that dealt with the movements and successes of his hero He seems thus to have laid the foundations of that taste for the study of military history which was afterwards so strongly developed in him His school career extended over a period of twelve years During seven of these years he was at Charterhouse The head master, Dr Raine, was a man who could rule as well as reign, and he could thus draw out of his boys all that was best in their character , and he succeeded in winning their esteem and admiration in a remarkable manner He maintained a very strict discipline, but this was all to the taste of young Havelock When he died, and was succeeded by a man of a different type, Havelock, finding that Charterhouse had lost its chief attraction for him, persuaded his father to remove him

During his school career, Havelock, owing to his sober and contemplative disposition, had received from his schoolfellows the sobriquet of ‘ Phlos ’, abbreviated from Philosopher , this remained with him practically to the end of his days And it was very appropriate, for few men have needed philosophy during their careers more than Havelock

did during his Most men who have prepared for their future careers by such hard and strenuous preliminary study as that by which Havelock prepared for his, when once he had entered on the serious business of life, have generally seen some reward for their labours at a comparatively early period in their career, but this was not to be Havelock's destiny His career was to be a military one Promotion in the army was slow in those days Writing in after years to his son, who had just obtained the adjutancy of his corps, he said 'You are fortunate in getting at the age of twenty-two, what I considered myself lucky to get at forty-two' But he was philosophic enough to accept the situation, as he knew that he was no exception Earl Roberts has incidentally borne his testimony to this fact in a humorous passage in his famous Autobiography He had just joined his appointment at Peshawar, and he writes 'My father, who was then in his sixty-ninth year, had just been appointed to command the division with the temporary rank of major-general Old as this may appear at a period when colonels are superannuated at fifty-seven, and major-generals must retire at sixty-two, my father did not consider himself particularly unlucky As for the authorities, they evidently thought that they were to be congratulated on having so young and active an officer to place in a position of responsibility upon the North-West Frontier, for amongst my father's papers I found letters from the Adjutant-General and Quarter-Master-General, expressing high satisfaction at his appointment to this difficult Command' But Havelock was to need his philosophy most when on his return to Cawnpur, after his gallant and heroic attempts twice made to relieve Lucknow, baffled it may be, but not defeated, he found awaiting him a *Gazette* notification that he had been superseded in his command, and a superior officer placed in charge of the operations which he only wanted reinforcements to bring himself to a successful conclusion It seemed to him at the time as if 'Fuit' was to be written on his escutcheon But he met this, which was perhaps the greatest disappointment that he was ever called upon to meet, with that same spirit of philosophy with which he always had met 'the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune' And the reason was not far to seek.

He was a philosopher because he was first and foremost that true type of an English gentleman, trained in that school where private feelings are ever subordinated to duty

On leaving school, Havelock turned to law for a profession for a time, but, notwithstanding his mother's prediction that he was destined to sit on the woolsack, he was soon perforce compelled to look out for another means of living, as his father had withdrawn his countenance and financial support from him, owing to some unfortunate family quarrel Through the influence of a brother he secured a commission in the Army Waterloo had been fought and won when Havelock entered the Army late in the year 1815, and a period of profound peace set in in Europe He spent some eight years in various garrison towns, and utilized his enforced leisure to the utmost, studying all the greatest authorities on the art of war, and learning the practical duties of a soldier He was fortunate in having as his company officer, Captain, afterwards General, Sir Harry Smith In his own modest language he tells how he thus acquired some knowledge of his profession which was useful to him in after days But his biographer states that, 'Few officers had ever become so thoroughly proficient in their profession as Havelock in the period between his entering the Army and embarking for India'

Having been desirous of seeing active service, and thinking that there was a greater prospect of such in Asia than in Europe, and having, moreover, two brothers in India, he took the first opportunity of exchanging into a regiment that was proceeding to India, the 13th Light Infantry Before embarking, he had, with his usual thoroughness, been studying Persian and Hindustani under Dr Gilchrist He studied to such purpose that his professor was able to pass him as a full Munshi On the voyage out he acted as honorary professor to his brother officers He was fortunate in having as his commanding officer, Major, afterwards General, Sir Robert Sale, the hero of Jalalabad He was at this time twenty-eight years of age, 'possessed,' writes his biographer, 'of a well-built figure, if somewhat small, an eagle eye, a countenance remarkably comely, which exhibited the union of intellect and energy which never fails to command deference' If Havelock impressed his fellow

officers with the force of his own personality, there was one among them who was destined to leave a life-long impression on Havelock himself This was Lieutenant James Gardner both on board ship and on land, where, for some weeks after landing, they chummed together, as it is called in Anglo-Indian parlance, this young officer had impressed Havelock with his deep earnestness and piety , and it is recorded that when they parted, Havelock said to him, 'Give me your hand , I owe you more than I owe to any man living '

Havelock arrived in India early in 1823, and very soon saw that active service for which he was longing The King of Ava had recently conquered Assam, and had overrun the Principality of Cachar, and having found but little opposition, he thought he could treat the British in the same way as he had treated other peoples , so he proceeded to demand the cession of the Eastern Districts of Bengal, which he claimed as the ancient patrimony of the Burmese Crown His General then issued the quaint proclamation that 'from the moment of their resolution to invade Bengal, it was taken from under the British Dominions, and had become in fact, what it had ever been in right, a province of the Golden King' And not content with this, the Burmese committed actual acts of aggression on the Arakan Coast on territory belonging to the British There was only one way of dealing with such arrogance as this born of ignorance, and that was for the Ruler of Burmah to make the acquaintance of British bayonets, and so be divested of his ignorance War was declared Havelock received an appointment as Deputy-Assistant-Adjutant-General under Sir Archibald Campbell The capture of stockades, which in Lower Burmah take the place of sangars in the mountains of the Frontier, formed the principal feature of the campaign , but many of them were most stubbornly defended, and Havelock records one day's fighting as having been 'a grand field-day of stockades' Though silent about his own deeds, he has recorded one striking instance of gallantry on the part of a brother officer 'Lieutenant Alexander Howard, who was a volunteer for the day and had been seen cheering on the men with very distinguished gallantry, unluckily rushed upon an angle, where the Burmese, pent like rats in a corner, were struggling desperately to escape

from the British bayonets As he pushed on, sabre in hand, three balls struck him on the side, and at the same moment a Burman speared him in the back He was found expiring, his sabre yet clenched in his hand, fallen and lying over a dead Burman, in whose skull was a frightful gash' His remains were interred the same evening, and when it was proposed to strip and reattire his body, Havelock, it is recorded, pointed to his gory side, and said, 'You can affix no brighter ornament than that to the body of a brave soldier'

Owing to illness, Havelock returned to Bengal for a time, and as a visit to Calcutta failed to re-establish his health, he proceeded by sea to Bombay He congratulated himself on being thus able to make the acquaintance of two such men as Mountstuart Elphinstone and Bishop Heber After nearly a year's absence he returned to Burmah An incident that occurred after his return shows the reputation that Havelock and the men of his regiment who had come under his religious influence had gained with the officer commanding, as men to be depended upon in an emergency A sudden attack had been made on an outpost, and Sir Archibald Campbell ordered up the men of another corps to support it, but they were not prepared for the call after a carouse 'Then call out Havelock's Saints,' he exclaimed, 'they are always sober and can be depended on, and Havelock himself is always ready' The Saints, it is recorded, got under arms with promptitude, and the attack was repulsed Havelock was soon after sent on a special mission to Ava to receive the ratification of the Treaty that the King had at last found himself compelled to agree to The usual delay took place while the court ceremonial was being altered to suit the requirements of the representative of a nation that was not prepared to concede all that Eastern Courts usually demanded It is not recorded that Havelock was required 'to crook the pregnant hinges of the knee' before the Golden Foot, and he was certainly fully prepared, as Lord Macartney at a later period at the Court of Pekin was, to waive the ceremony of kissing hands However, the English officers, as a matter of political expediency, made one concession to Oriental etiquette they removed their boots before proceeding to the presence

The King graciously invested the envoys with the insignia of titles and honorary distinctions To Havelock's share fell a fillet of gold leaf placed on his forehead, and the title of Grandee of the Empire

On the conclusion of the campaign, Havelock received the temporary appointment of interpreter with a detachment of troops marching to Cawnpur This appointment having come to an end with the arrival of the troops at their destination, he returned to Dinapur, where his regiment was then stationed He had always been a thoughtful observer of men and things, and like many a man of action both before and after him, he was gifted with the pen of a ready writer He relieved the monotony of a subaltern's life, for he was still only a Lieutenant, by compiling a narrative of the Burmese Campaign It was published for him at the Press of the Baptist Missionaries at Serampur, whose acquaintance he had made soon after his first arrival in India It was entitled *Campaigns in Ava* Some time after its appearance, one of his brothers was calling at the Horse Guards, and saw the book lying on the office table of the officer to whom he addressed himself Are you the author of that work ?' was his first inquiry 'It is from the pen of my younger brother,' was his reply 'Is he tired of his commission ?' was the curt and significant rejoinder Havelock soon after received the appointment of Adjutant to the Dépôt of King's troops at Chinsura, not far from Serampur Here he again renewed his acquaintance with the Baptist Mission, and eventually married a daughter of the head of the Mission, Dr Marshman, who is recorded to have spent a fortune of £40,000 in the cause of Christian Missions in India He adopted the Baptist form of Christianity, but this did not prevent his still retaining the broad and tolerant views on the subject of religion that at all times distinguished him His own remarks made at a subsequent period show this 'Where men of different denominations agree to meet in a feeling of brotherhood, they leave at the door of the place of assembly the husks and shells of their creed, but bring into the midst of their brethren the precious kernel They lay aside for the moment at the threshold, the canons, the articles, and the formularies of their section of Christianity, but carry along

with them the very essence and quintessence of their religion.'

Soon after the Dépôt at Chinsura was abolished, and Havelock accompanied his regiment to Agra, towards the close of the year 1831 Having now been seventeen years in the Army, and being still only a Lieutenant, he endeavoured to obtain a company by purchase, which was the only road to promotion open at the time But by an extraordinary concatenation of adverse circumstances, three great Banking Houses that had agreed to advance the necessary funds failed in succession during a great commercial crisis The necessary step in rank could not therefore be secured, and Havelock was obliged to look out for another way of overcoming the inconveniences of scanty domestic resources, which, now that he was a married man, he was beginning to experience He saw that there was no royal road to advancement for a King's officer except by the usual channel of a competent knowledge of the vernaculars of the country, and of the language of the Courts, such as the Company's officers, who wanted civil employment, had to acquire He made, therefore, a further study of Persian and Hindustani, and having passed the necessary examinations in these languages with credit, soon found himself qualified for an appointment as Interpreter For a short time he held such a post in the 16th Foot, but was replaced by an officer of the regiment, who soon after qualified He then prepared to return to his regiment at Agra and he characteristically wrote to a friend 'I have every prospect of reaching Agra a full Lieutenant of Foot, without even the command of a company, and not a rupee in the world besides my pay and allowances, nor a rupee's worth except my little house on the hill, and some castles in the air even less valuable Nevertheless, I was never more cheerful or fuller of health and hope, and of humble dependence on Him who has so long guarded and guided me ' His patience was at length to be rewarded, and, in 1835, Lord William Bentinck conferred upon him the adjutancy of his regiment

On the arrival of the regiment at Karnal, not very far from Delhi, Havelock sent his wife and family to the lofty hill-station of Landour, which overlooks the beautiful valley of the Dun, which is called 'The Garden of India'

The 'little house on the hill' was unfortunately soon after burnt down, and Mrs Havelock only escaped with her infant through the heroic exertions of one of her native servants who risked his own life to save hers As it was, the infant died, and Mrs Havelock only recovered after a long illness, during which her life was despaired of more than once Havelock was astounded at the blow, but was much comforted by the action of the men of his regiment, who came to him in a body, and solicited permission to contribute a month's pay to make up his pecuniary loss he declined the generous offer, but ever after cherished the memory of it Havelock was at last promoted to a captaincy at the age of forty-three And with the breaking out of the First Afghan War, he had another opportunity of seeing active service He was appointed by Sir Willoughby Cotton, who had always been his good friend, as his second aide de camp, and as such accompanied the army that marched into Afghanistan to place Shah Shuja on the throne of Kabul

The fortress of Ghazni on the high road between Kandahar and the capital was considered impregnable by the people of the country, but the British were not going to let it 'snort defiance to the Feringhi', as Bhartpur had so long done The Army had no siege guns with it, as, contrary to the advice of Havelock, Sir John Keane, who was in supreme command, had left all the heavy guns at Kandahar, after they had been hauled with incredible labour through the terrific defiles of the Bolan and Khojak passes Only one gate had not been walled up this was blown up under the direction of a gallant officer of the Royal Engineers, Captain Thomson, with 900 pounds of gunpowder The 'Forlorn Hope' then rushed in, closely followed by the main column under Sale, and the British Standard was soon flying on the citadel, planted there by a gallant Ensign of Havelock's own regiment, Ensign Frere At the first streak of dawn Havelock had been directed by the General to ride down to the gate, and bring him tidings of the progress of the attack He reached the spot immediately after the explosion, and plodding over the débris of the battlements, entered the gate He saw Sale on the ground struggling with a powerful Afghan, and calmly calling out

to Captain Kershaw, who came up at the moment, to 'do him the favour to pass his sword through the body of the infidel.' After seeing Sale to a position of safety, Havelock rode back to Sir John Keane, and reported the complete success of the enterprise. Havelock was much struck with the humanity of the troops on this occasion, and wrote in praise of the self-denial, mercy, and generosity of the hour displayed by them. He attributed this largely to their enforced abstention from spirits since they had left Kandahar, and to no liquor having been found among the plunder of Ghazni. Havelock, though himself always in favour of strict temperance, never denied the necessity of the distribution among the men of their tot of rum, to keep their spirits up, and sustain them amidst the fatigues of arduous campaigning. But he knew the dangers of unlimited drink, and he always repressed drunkenness with a strong hand. When at Cawnpur, at a later period, he bought up all the supplies of the liquor to be found in the city, to prevent temptation. After the capture of Ghazni, the army marched on to Kabul without meeting with any further resistance.

Havelock did not notice any enthusiasm on the part of the people of the capital at the restoration of Shah Shuja to the throne; on the contrary, he has recorded that 'the inhabitants of Kabul preserved a dead and ominous silence', as Shah Shuja passed through the streets, surrounded by an imposing array of military pageantry, and accompanied by a brilliant cavalcade of British officers. Havelock now returned to India for a time, as he wished to see another military work on the Afghan Campaign through the press. This done, he returned to Afghanistan; he had been absent about fifteen months. Matters had been steadily going from bad to worse; the Government had become, as Havelock's biographer has remarked, 'a government of sentry-boxes.' One fatal mistake had been made. The passes between Kabul and Jalalabad had hitherto been kept open for the British by the heads of the clans of the Ghilzai mountaineers. They were men of whom Havelock has thus written: 'To the politics of Afghanistan they were magnanimously indifferent; they cared not which of their rulers lorded it in the Bala Hissar, the Citadel of Kabul, provided they were left in the undisturbed enjoyment of their ancient privi-

leges of levying tribute from caravans, or of mercilessly plundering all who resisted the exaction, or received from the existing Government a handsome annual stipend in commutation of the sums raised in virtue of their prescriptive rights' They held much the same position in the councils of the Afghan Government as did the class of barons known as Ghatwalis in India, who held the passes leading from the highland regions of Birbhum and Chutia Nagpur on to the rich alluvial plains of Bengal It was a recognized part of Government policy, that they were to be subsidized and subsidized handsomely These men had been summoned to Kabul, there they received the intimation that their allowances were henceforth to be curtailed With the courtesy that becomes the Oriental so well, they made their salaams, a smile upon their lips, and duly went their way Arrived amongst their native hills, they promptly closed the passes Rewards given for special services, or for fidelity, are never thrown away in an Oriental country, and so Havelock found when, at a later period, he was on his march to Lucknow If he had not known this before, this extremely impolitic act of the British authorities in Afghanistan had taught it to him now, as it had done to those responsible for it

Sale was at once ordered to reopen the passes, and Havelock accompanied the expedition The first attempt failed, and he had to return to Kabul for reinforcements, but soon left again to rejoin Sale He was destined to see no more of the Army of Occupation left in Kabul, before he visited Kabul again that army had ceased to exist, and the Army of Retribution had taken its place At length the force under Sale pushed its way through the passes as far as Gundamak Here he received orders from General Elphinstone, now in command at Kabul, to return, the reason was given in a laconic postscript to the dispatch written by George Lawrence, the Envoy's Secretary, 'We are in a fix' The revolt had commenced Sale, however, had been allowed to exercise his own discretion in the matter, if he found he could not, without danger, leave the sick and wounded of his force with the Irregulars at Gundamak He held a Council of War, and it was resolved by all its members that the sick and wounded could not be so left, and

that an advance must be made to Jalalabad instead of a move back to Kabul. The decision had been due to Havelock's influence. His foresight was justified by the event, which has been thus described by the historian: 'Sir Robert Sale's force moved out on November 11, 1841. During the day a distant fire of musketry was heard behind it, and then there was a lurid blaze, followed by a violent explosion. It was the revolt of the Afghan levies at Gundamak, who threw off the mask as soon as the force was out of sight. They rose on their European officers, plundered their baggage, set fire to the cantonment, and blew up the magazine, sending a number of their own treasonable companions into the air.'

Sale's force reached Jalalabad the day after leaving Gundamak. The defence of Jalalabad stands out as one of the most gallant feats that have ever been recorded in the annals of the British in the East; and the credit of it belongs largely to one man in Sale's brigade, Captain, afterwards Major, George Broadfoot, of whom Havelock has recorded his opinion in these terms: 'He was pre-eminently one of Plutarch's men, formed, if his life had been spared, to play a leading part in great events, and to astonish all by the vigour and grasp of his intellect, his natural talent for war and policy, his cool and sound judgement, his moral courage and personal intrepidity.' George Broadfoot was killed during the First Sikh War, and on his tomb was inscribed the words, 'The foremost man in India.' Havelock had so great an admiration for him that he named his youngest son George Broadfoot Havelock. As soon as the force arrived at Jalalabad, Broadfoot made a complete circuit of the town to see how the defences looked. He found, it is recorded, a mass of ruins where the walls had stood. Again a council of war was summoned, and it was solemnly debated as to whether it would not be better to abandon the town altogether and retire into the citadel, the walls round which were at least standing. Under the influence of Havelock, who was strongly backed up by Broadfoot, it was decided to occupy the town and rebuild the walls. But, before this could be done, the enemy had to be driven off: this was effected by a gallant attack in which more than 200 of them were left dead on the field.

Broadfoot now made the best use of the temporary cessation of hostilities which this brilliant victory had brought about Officers and men all worked with emulation, and within an incredibly short time, writes the historian, 'what had been an indefensible heap of ruins was, as if by a magic wand, transformed into a fortification proof against any but siege ordnance' The story of how Broadfoot had procured the tools which had now come in so handy, is one worth recording 'Captain Broadfoot had requested Sir Alexander Burnes, when in Kabul, to help him obtain some entrenching and mining tools, thereupon Burnes issued orders to the smiths at Kabul to provide them, the orders were scornfully disobeyed Broadfoot then took with him a party of his own sappers, and planting one of them over each smith, obtained a large supply of the best tools that had ever been seen in Kabul' The defences had only just been completed when the enemy again appeared in force, and another spirited sally was made, and with excellent effect

Soon the redoubtable Akbar Khan himself appeared in the valley, and almost simultaneously, the walls which the British had so recently rebuilt with such labour crumbled to pieces as the result of a great earthquake Broadfoot had been standing on the ramparts when this disastrous earthquake occurred, and it is recorded that, on seeing the defences fall one after another, he remarked to a friend who was standing near, 'Now is the time for Akbar Khan' But most fortunately for the British, the same earthquake that had shaken the walls of Jalalabad down, had also brought down the homes of many of the men who were with Akbar Khan, and large numbers had left him to look after the safety of their families It did not take Broadfoot long to repair the mischief, all ranks and all arms combined in the work of restoration Thus, when Akbar Khan was again ready for the attack, the British were ready for the encounter Akbar Khan was a son of Dost Mahomed, and had proved himself a more formidable enemy to the British than his father had ever been He it was who had assassinated the British Envoy at Kabul with the very pistol which that envoy had presented him with only the day before He it was too who had issued the famous proclamation, in which he had declared his intention of exterminating the

intruders, the rule of the Quran never being forgotten 'Those who resist, I will kill those who ask mercy I will pardon' This was the man against whose attacks the garrison had to provide News of the disasters occurring at Kabul had been reaching them from time to time, but no idea of their extent had ever entered their imaginations until the arrival one morning in their midst of Dr Brydon Then they learnt that the Army of Occupation had ceased to exist, and that they had given shelter to its only English survivor What was one of the most dramatic incidents in the whole history of the defence has been thus recorded by Havelock 'About 2 p m on January 13, some officers were assembled on the roof of the loftiest house in Jalalabad One of them espied a single horseman riding towards our walls As he got nearer, it was distinctly seen that he wore European clothes, and was mounted on a travel-hacked yaboo, which he was urging on with all the speed of which it yet remained master The Kabul Gate was thrown open, and several officers rushed out and recognized in the traveller Dr Brydon He was covered with slight cuts and contusions, and dreadfully exhausted His first few hasty sentences informed his listeners that the Kabul army was annihilated Countenances full of sorrow and dejection were immediately seen in every corner of Jalalabad, all labour was suspended, the working parties recalled, the assembly sounded, the gates were closed, and the walls and batteries manned, and the cavalry stood ready to mount The first impression was that the enemy were rapidly following a crowd of fugitives in upon the walls, but three shots only were heard in the distance The recital of Dr Brydon filled all hearers with horror, grief, and indignation A little later the cavalry were sent out to patrol, in the hope of recovering a few more fugitives, but in vain A large light was exhibited at night, and four buglers sounded the advance every half-hour for three nights The sound which had so often awaked the animation of the soldier now fell with a melancholy cadence upon the ear, it was sounded to the dead' The garrison now knew that at any moment they might have to meet an attack from Akbar Khan's forces, reinforced by fresh troops sent from the capital with the help of the guns so recently

captured from the Army of Occupation But the spirit of the garrison, inspired as it was by such men as Havelock and Broadfoot, was equal to the occasion What that spirit was may be illustrated from an entry that Havelock made in his Journal, copied from a French writer 'What things apparently impossible have been accomplished by resolute men whose only other resource has been death!' And it was an almost impossible feat that this heroic garrison did accomplish A relief force under General Pollock arrived from Peshawar one morning, only to find that 'the Illustrious Garrison', as Lord Ellenborough afterwards described them, had wrought out their own deliverance Havelock himself had had a very narrow escape from death during the great battle between the British and Akbar Khan He had formed his troops into a square to receive the charge of the enemy's cavalry, and had remained outside to the last his horse, alarmed at the firing, threw him just as the Afghan horsemen rode up, and he would have fallen under their sabres had not two men of his regiment rushed out from the square and dragged him back just in the nick of time

Havelock now received the appointment of Deputy-Adjutant-General of the Infantry Division, and he remained with the force in this capacity until General Pollock had completed the work of retribution His old regiment, the 13th Light Infantry, behaved with conspicuous gallantry on more than one occasion their five months of hard service at Jalalabad had converted the new recruits he had brought up with him only a year before into seasoned veterans Havelock himself was in his element, and is recorded to have been at all times present wherever the fire was hottest and the resistance most resolute Malleson has compared Havelock with the famous French Marshal Masséna, of whom Napoleon wrote 'His conversation gave few indications of genius, but at the first cannon-shot his mental energy redoubled, and when surrounded by danger his thoughts were clear and forcible' Havelock was in Kabul when the prisoners, who had been in Akbar Khan's hands for some eight months, arrived in camp On his inquiring whether his nephew, Lieutenant Williams, a grandson of Dr Marshman, was among them,

a tall figure clad in an Afghan dress, with a beard which had not been touched for many months, stepped forward and shouted, 'Here I am, uncle' Among the prisoners were George Lawrence and John Nicholson All spoke well of the treatment they had received while in confinement, and so much must be placed to the credit of their captor, Akbar Khan he had shown himself not wanting in chivalry The final scene came when, on December 17, 1842, the Army of Retribution defiled over the bridge of boats which had been thrown across the Sutlej, and was received by Lord Ellenborough, as the historian has recorded, 'with all the pomp and ceremony of a Roman ovation'

Havelock received a Commandership of the Bath for his services Owing to the retirement of an officer just above him in rank, he obtained a Majority in his regiment, and was soon after appointed Interpreter to the new Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Gough He was present in that capacity during the short Gwalior Campaign This affair did not turn out altogether the picnic that Lord Ellenborough had anticipated, and some ladies who were in his camp, and had come out on elephants to see the fun, were soon dispatched to a place of safety in the rear, when, in the course of one engagement, cannon-balls began to play about their mounts Two battles were fought, Punniar and Maharajpur, and in both the Mahrattas are said to have fought with determined gallantry Havelock, as usual, distinguished himself by the cool intrepidity with which he moved about amidst the balls that ploughed up the ground all round him One incident is especially worth mentioning 'A regiment of Native Infantry was moving at so slow a pace as to exhaust the patience of Sir Hugh Gough "Will no one get that Sepoy regiment on?" he repeatedly exclaimed Havelock offered to go, and riding up, inquired the name of the corps "It is the 56th Native Infantry," was the reply "I don't want its number," he said, "what is its native name?" "Lamboorun-ke-Paltan, Lambourn's regiment," was the reply He then took off his cap, and placing himself in their front, addressed them by that name, and in a few complimentary and cheering words, reminded them that they fought under the eye of

the Commander-in-Chief He then led them up to the batteries, and afterwards remarked that 'whereas it had been difficult to get them forward before, the difficulty now was to restrain their impetuosity' The campaign ended satisfactorily, and soon after Havelock found himself a Lieutenant-Colonel

Havelock was again actively engaged in all the principal engagements of the First Sikh War at Mudki he had two horses shot under him, and was twice remounted by his friend Broadfoot, who on the second occasion jocularly remarked that it appeared to be of little use to give him horses, 'as he was sure to lose them' At the great battle of Firozshahr, which lasted two days, and of which Lord Hardinge remarked to Havelock, 'Another such battle will shake the Empire,' Havelock had the misfortune to lose two of his greatest friends, Broadfoot and Sale, who were both killed At the close of this campaign, Havelock made a note in his Journal to this effect 'I entered upon this campaign fancying myself something of a soldier I have now learnt that I know nothing Well! I am even yet not too old to learn' He accompanied the Governor-General to Lahore after the war, and was present at the great Durbar at which the new Government of the Punjab was installed He now received the appointment of Deputy Adjutant-General of Queen's Troops at Bombay He had exchanged into the 53rd Regiment, and when, on the breaking out of the Second Sikh War in 1849, that regiment was ordered to the front, not wishing, as he remarked, 'that any one of his name should appear to be slow to answer the call of duty,' he asked permission to accompany it this was not accorded He was naturally much disappointed, but determined now to carry out the plan he had long been contemplating of proceeding to England on furlough, whither Mrs Havelock had already preceded him And towards the end of the year he joined her there, returning to India again at the close of 1851

After holding the appointment for a time of Quarter-Master-General of Queen's Troops, 'his duties consisting,' he said, 'of two returns and two letters a month,' he was appointed Adjutant-General When the Persian War broke out, Outram, who had been appointed to the supreme

command, recommended Havelock for the command of the Second Division, an appointment which Havelock was not slow to accept, as he was always ready for anything in the way of active service There was very little fighting during this short six months' campaign, as the Persians, it is recorded, generally fled so fast whenever the British Infantry put in an appearance that it was found hopeless to pursue them There were only three engagements altogether, and the last of them, fought on the banks of the Euphrates, was won practically by guns served by the handy men of the Indian Navy, who so pounded the position which the Shahzada in person was commanding, that when the army advanced the Persians were seized with a panic, and precipitately abandoned their camp and fled As Havelock has written 'The white tents were standing, but the tenants had vanished, as if by the stroke of a magic wand' Havelock returned to Bombay in the early part of 1857, in time to hear the astounding intelligence of the outbreak of mutiny in the Sepoy Army

Havelock's first impulse was to proceed by the shortest route to join his appointment as Adjutant-General, and to be once more at the Commander-in-Chief's side, but Lord Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, dissuaded him from proceeding overland, as the difficulties would be found insuperable so he proceeded by sea to Calcutta Off the coast of Ceylon, his steamer was wrecked amid a scene of much confusion, Havelock remained calm and collected, and called out 'Now, my men, if you will obey orders, and keep from the spirit cask, we shall all be saved' Canoes came from the shore and took them all off Havelock, with his usual earnestness, is recorded to have called upon every one to kneel down and return thanks to Almighty God for their deliverance And characteristically, he wrote of the incident 'The madness of man threw us on shore, the mercy of God found us a soft place to land on' He then went on to Madras, where he found Sir Patrick Grant proceeding to Calcutta by the orders of Lord Canning, to act provisionally as Commander-in-Chief Havelock accompanied him It is recorded that Sir Patrick Grant, having in mind some words once used by Lord Hardinge of Havelock, remarked to Lord Canning as he introduced Havelock

to him ' Your Excellency, I have brought you the man ' Lord Canning at once appointed him Brigadier-General in command of the movable column that it had been decided should be formed to operate in the disturbed districts His orders were to lose not a moment in supporting Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow, and Sir Hugh Wheeler at Cawnpur His words, on receiving his orders, were, ' May God grant me wisdom to fulfil the expectations of Government, and to restore tranquillity in the disturbed districts '

Havelock had now obtained the realization of his long cherished dream of an independent command of a British Army in the field, for which he had been preparing himself during more than forty years of varied service His preparations did not take him long , and within less than a week after receiving his orders he was on his way to Allahabad, where he formed his column One of its constituents was a small body of volunteer cavalry destined to achieve for itself lasting fame In its original composition it consisted only of some eighteen members, under the command of Captain Barrow They came from all classes officers whose regiments had mutinied and who were therefore in search of employment, indigo-planters, refugee tradesmen, and police patrols The force was reinforced from time to time, but at no time did it exceed six-score men After Outram had joined forces with Havelock, it had the distinction of having him as one of its members To this day those princes of good fellows, the indigo-planters of Behar, are gallant Light Horsemen, and form the backbone of that well-known corps, ' The Behar Light Horse ' and they proved on many a battlefield in South Africa that they are no unworthy successors of the Pioneer Corps. The 78th Regiment of Highlanders also formed part of the force Havelock had been much put to it to provide suitable clothing for all the members of the column he could not supply this gallant corps with lighter clothing than their woollen tunics , and they had to fight every battle in this dress But as it was no tented field that they were going to, and it was the height of the rainy season, it is probable that the warmer clothing saved them from many a chill on their wet bivouacs, and really proved a blessing in disguise.

Havelock's force left Allahabad on the morning of July 7 Including a body of 300 men under Major Renaud that had gone on in advance, the whole number of troops under Havelock's command was 1,500, with eight guns The news that met them on their march, that Cawnpur had fallen, and that Lucknow was invested, showed them that they had sterner work before them than they had anticipated Their first encounter with the rebels was at Fatehpur it was a complete victory it was the first check that the enemy had yet received in the open field, and it not only had an excellent effect on the morale of Havelock's troops, but on that of the British Army generally in India, besides bringing a ray of hope to the European community Havelock was not unnaturally proud of it, and he issued an order of the day in these characteristic terms 'The victory has been due to British pluck, that great quality that has survived the vicissitudes of the hour, and gained intensity from the crisis, and to the blessing of Almighty God on a most righteous cause, the cause of justice, humanity, truth, and good government in India' Steadily the troops moved on to their first objective, which was Cawnpur They knew by this time that their comrades in arms had been treacherously murdered there in cold blood, but they still hoped to be in time to save some 200 women and children who, they had learnt, were yet alive The next engagement was at Aong, fought shortly after daybreak this would of itself have ordinarily been enough for one day, but while the troops were resting preparatory for breakfast, they were called upon to make yet another supreme effort in order to capture the bridge over the Pandu Nadi all breakfastless as they were, they rushed to the attack, and were only just up in time, as the enemy were found to have already undermined the bridge preparatory to blowing it up Havelock's men had nobly responded to the call they had fought and won two actions in one day, and it is no wonder that after their exertions they threw themselves just as they were, exhausted on the ground Next day it was the same again . two actions, more severe, if anything, than those gone before, had again to be fought before the way into Cawnpur was clear The Nana himself had come out to oppose the

entry of the British, but his troops could not stand before the impetuous rushes of Havelock's men The Highlanders especially covered themselves with glory on this occasion The volunteer cavalry also did so well that on their return from their gallant charge against the whole body of the rebel cavalry, Havelock exclaimed 'Well done, Gentlemen Volunteers you have done well I am proud to command you' Only the next morning did Havelock tell his men the terrible news that he himself had heard on the night of the battle, of the massacre of the women and children The effect of the news on the men, enhanced as it was by the sights presented before their eyes as they marched into Cawnpur, on the morning of July 17, was almost stunning It has been recorded how men of iron nerve who had rushed to the cannon's mouth without flinching, and had seen unappalled their comrades mowed down around them, now lifted up their voices and wept They swore to exact a terrible retribution, and it says much for the stern discipline that Havelock ever enforced among his troops, that he was able to keep their feelings within due bounds At the same time, he had no intention of not himself exacting the sternest retribution, but it was to be exacted in the open field Even at this time, when all men's feelings might have been expected to have been most inflamed, he issued the strictest orders against any desecration of the enemy's holy places similar orders had been issued by Sir Henry Lawrence in Lucknow 'Spare the holy places and private property of the people as much as possible,' had been his instructions That the enemy themselves were not so scrupulous in their feelings towards their own shrines is evidenced by the report subsequently made by Brigadier Inglis, to the effect that some of the heaviest losses at the Residency were due to the fire from the enemy's sharpshooters stationed in the adjoining mosques, and houses of the native nobility

Havelock saw now the work that lay before his force and he saw that the task would be an impossible one without fresh and strong reinforcements, and it was when he was confident that he would get what he wanted, at least an extra battery of guns and 1,000 European bayonets

more, that he wrote thus to Neill 'The instant you join me, I will by the blessing of God strike a blow that shall resound through India' This was said in no spirit of vainglory He had seen what his men could do, and he had every confidence that with additional troops in sufficient numbers, and of the same quality, he would be able to accomplish the great task that lay before him But 'hope deferred ever maketh the heart sick' the expected reinforcements delayed their coming a general feeling of gloom and depression began to pervade the camp, which was not lessened by the great amount of sickness that there was amongst the troops The historian, with a graphic touch, has thus pictured the scene 'A deep silence pervaded the encampment, except when it was broken by the melancholy sounds of the Highland bagpipes as the burying parties conveyed the bodies of those who had fallen by the sword, or by cholera, to their last home' At length even Havelock's courageous spirit was momentarily affected It is recorded that, as he sat at dinner with his son one evening, his mind dwelt with gloomy forebodings on the possible annihilation of his brave men in a fruitless attempt to accomplish what was beyond their strength After remaining long in deep thought, his strong sense of duty, and his confidence in the justice of his cause, restored the buoyancy of his spirits, and he exclaimed, 'If the worst comes to the worst, we can but die with our swords in our hands' Neill reached Cawnpur on July 20, with less than 300 men, not enough to fill up the gaps in Havelock's force made by death and disease, or even to garrison Cawnpur However, Havelock resolved to make an attempt to relieve Lucknow, and leaving Neill in charge at Cawnpur, he proceeded on his way

It took him nearly a week to effect the crossing of the Ganges, which was in flood, and consequently about a mile in width The first camp was at Mangalwar, some six miles on the Oudh side of the river The first encounter with the enemy took place on the morning of July 29, at Unao. The rebels fought most gallantly, and for the greater part of the time it was a hand-to-hand fight Fifteen of the enemy's guns were captured, but the troops were again called on for another stubborn fight, after they

had been halting for three hours only. this battle gave them possession of Basirhat-ganj. On this memorable day the men had been fighting practically from sunrise to sunset, at nightfall, Havelock rode out some distance to reconnoitre. as he was returning to camp, his men caught sight of him. 'Clear the way for the General,' was their cry. 'You have done that right well already, men,' was the General's cheery reply. As Havelock rode off, all shouted out, 'God bless the General.' For the second time during this brief campaign two battles had been fought, and two victories won, in one day. But the loss of men and of ammunition had been so great, and, owing to a rising of the troops at Dinapur, the danger of having his communications cut behind him had become so pressing, that Havelock resolved to retire to his first position at Mangalwar, near the Ganges. Again he urged the necessity of having strong reinforcements sent to him, and again he only received less than 300 men. But once more he advanced on Lucknow. He had to capture Basirhat-ganj at the point of the bayonet, and he gave the honours of the day to 'the Blue Caps', as he called the Madras Fusiliers. The difficulties ahead of him proved too great, and he once more was compelled, under the pressure only of inexorable duty, to retire on Mangalwar. Disease was decimating his force, and the medical officers had reported that, unless the force was allowed some weeks' rest, there would be no fighting men left. After driving the enemy out of Basirhat-ganj yet again, the force, at the urgent request of Neill, who was now himself in difficulties at Cawnpur, recrossed the Ganges and entered Cawnpur, only to find that there was to be no rest yet before them. The Nana had taken up a strong position at Bithoor, near Cawnpur, and was only driven out of it after a very stubborn fight, in which the bayonet was in constant requisition. With this battle ended for a time only, Havelock's first campaign for the relief of Lucknow, one of the most glorious that have been recorded in the annals of the Army in India. Between July 12 and August 16, a short period of thirty-six days, the force under Havelock's command, writes the historian, 'had fought nine actions against overwhelming odds, the troops disciplined, and for the most part armed,

like themselves, and had been everywhere victorious without a single check'

Havelock's name had by this time become a household word in England, as had that of the troops under his command, and 'Havelock and his Ironsides', as they had been called, were known wherever the English tongue was spoken Havelock had not yet succeeded in his immediate object, but he had done even more than he had thought he had done A faithful Sepoy pensioner in Lucknow, named Angad, had been the means of keeping those beleaguered in the Residency in touch with Havelock and his troops, and they knew all that he had been accomplishing The chief civil officer in Lucknow, Mr Martin Gubbins, has recorded in his Journal the services that the beleaguered owed to him 'He struck terror by his victories into the ranks of the mutineers while, as for our garrison, we owe our safety, under Providence, I feel assured, to the exploits performed by Havelock's Army, for it was the knowledge of what they had effected that kept up the hearts of our native troops, and prevented their deserting us' Havelock knew that all he wanted now to achieve complete success were efficient reinforcements It must have been, therefore, a very heavy blow to him to receive the news of his supersession in favour of Sir James Outram, which has been described by the historian as 'one of the most inconsiderate acts of this year of confusion and error' However, this did not prevent him from making every preparation, with his usual thoroughness, for the second campaign, even though, as he thought at the time, he was not to be in supreme command History has recorded how his fortitude was rewarded by that marvellous act of self-abnegation on the part of the Bayard of India, in renouncing the command that had been given to him in Havelock's favour

No time was now lost Within four days after Outram's arrival, Havelock's force, now consisting of 2,500 men, again crossed the Ganges the crossing this time was effected in one day, owing to the excellent arrangements previously made by Havelock, and there was not a single casualty Mangalwar had to be captured from the enemy before further progress could be made Fortunately, the

bridge over the Sye had not been destroyed by the enemy After the passage of the Sye had been made, Havelock had a royal salute fired by the heavy battery, in the hopes that the sound would reach the Residency, but the wind carried it off in another direction No further obstacle presented itself till the Alambagh was reached The Alambagh was a pleasure garden, containing the usual garden-house, that had belonged to the Royal Family of Oudh The enemy were soon in full retreat, and as they streamed across the country, Outram placed himself at the head of the volunteer cavalry, mounted on a big mottled roan, and as he came up with the enemy, brought the stout cudgel which he wielded in place of his sword down on the backs of many a rebel A halt was made at the Alambagh on September 24 Early on the morning of September 25, orders for the final advance were given, the parole of the day being 'Patience' Just before the force started, the two Generals had had a very narrow escape from death. They were bending over a small table that had been placed in the open field, studying that valuable plan of Lucknow which the Sepoy pensioner, before referred to, had, at the risk of his life, brought to Havelock from Inglis 'At this moment a nine-pound shot from the enemy's battery struck the ground at a distance of about five yards from them, and rising, bounded over their heads, leaving them uninjured' After some of the severest fighting that the troops had ever had to encounter, the Residency was reached the same evening, and the first relief had been effected though actually a reinforcement rather than a relief properly so called, it was a most welcome respite for the hard-pressed garrison Lord Canning's words, in writing of Havelock, expressed the sentiments of all 'Rarely has a man been so fortunate as to relieve by his success so many aching hearts, and to reap so rich a reward of gratitude'

The relief effected, Sir James Outram assumed command, and finding it impossible to get the garrison away in safety, decided to remain where he was the position, however, was extended over a thousand yards to the east, and Havelock was placed in charge of the extension Thus, when the relieving force under Sir Colin Campbell approached, late in November of the same year, he was in

close touch with it, and by another act of glorious self-effacement on the part of Outram, who again gave him the supreme command at this critical juncture, he was able to put the crown on his great achievement by preparing the way for the final relief of the heroic garrison The historic meeting of the three Generals, Outram, Havelock, and Campbell, has been the subject of a great picture, and a graphic presentment of what was one of the closing scenes in the life of Havelock has been given by the pen of the historian of the Sepoy war Outram and Havelock had gone out to meet Sir Colin Campbell accompanied by six officers and one civilian, the gallant Kavanagh In crossing the deadly zone of fire that intervened between them and the place of meeting, four were struck down, and only five, including Outram and Havelock, reached the General 'A short conversation ensued The visitors had to return across the terrible space They set out at a run, only Outram and Kavanagh could keep it up. Havelock, weak and ill, soon tired Turning to the officer with him, he said, "I can do no more, Dodgson, I can do no more" Dodgson supported the gallant veteran Resting on Dodgson, then, the illustrious veteran traversed at a slow and measured pace—the only pace of which his strength was capable—the ground still remaining to be gone over, the enemy's balls striking all around them, at their feet, just short of them, just before them, just behind them, but all missing their mark' This was on November 17, within less than a week, Havelock was dead

As he lay dying, he had said to Sir James Outram, who had come to visit him 'I have for forty years so ruled my life, that when death came I might face it without fear' And his last words to his son were 'See how a Christian can die' His remains were conveyed to the Alambagh, and there he was buried A writer in *Blackwood*, quoted by Havelock's biographer, has thus graphically presented the scene 'On the low plain by the Alambagh, they made his humble grave, and Campbell, and Outram, and Inglis, and many a stout soldier who had followed him in all his headlong march, and through the long fatal street, were gathered there to perform the last rites to one of England's noblest dead. As long as the memory of

great deeds, and high courage, and spotless self-devotion, is cherished among his countrymen, so long will Havelock's lonely tomb in the grave beneath the scorching Eastern sky, hard by the vast city, the scene alike of his toil, his triumph, and his death, be regarded as one of the most holy of the many spots where her patriot soldiers lie '

With that inimitable touch with which that journal, whose main function it is to add to the gaiety of nations, so often voices the deeper feelings of Englishmen, *Punch* sounded this requiem over the hero's grave —

Guarded to a soldier's grave
By the bravest of the brave,
He hath gained a nobler tomb
Than in old Cathedral gloom
Strew not on the hero's hearse
Garlands of a herald's verse
Let us hear no words of Fame
Sounding loud a deathless name
All life long his homage rose
To far other shrine than those.
'In Hoc Signo,' pale nor dim,
Lit the battlefield for him,
And the prize he sought and won
Was the Crown for Duty done

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